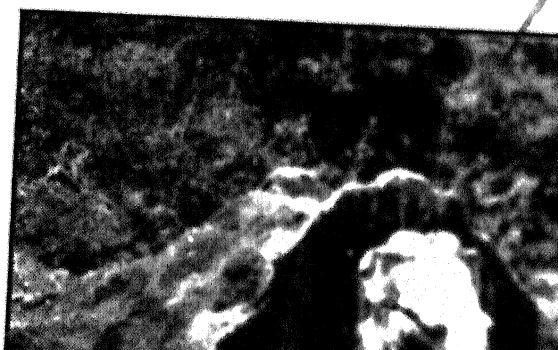
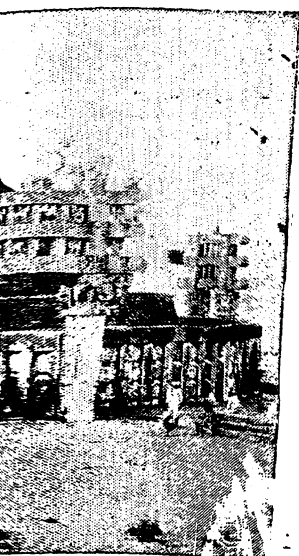


Sāñchī Stūpa; the place where M  
 Fig. 2 ]





# ANCIENT INDIA

History of Ancient India for 1000 years in

[ *From 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.* ]

## Volume IV

*A marvellous array of wholly new and theories, substantiated with facts from coins, inscriptions and authorities.*

died

Vol. II, pp. 186-

By

TRIBHUVANDAS L.

L. M. & S.

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[ V. E. 19

# ABBREVIATION

A.	Adhyāy	
A. D.	} After Christ	
A. C.		
A. M.	} After Mahāvīr : Mahā	
M. E.		
Ante	Before ( In foregone p	
A. V.	} After Vikramāditya	
V. E.		
V. S.		
B. C.	Before Christ	
Cf. = cf.	compare	Cha
Dr. = Doctor		e. g
f. n. = footnote		i. e.
Fig. = figure		Intr
G. E.	Gupta era	
G. V. S.	Gujarat Vernacular S	
Infra = Below		
No. : no. = Number		Pre
Pro. = Professor		
Poste = That follows ( In succe		
P, pp. = Page, pages		Pt.
S. E.	Śaka era	
Supra = Above		
Seq. = Sequel, that follows		Vol
Viz. = namely		
Vol.	} Volume or Part of Anc	



**The names of the books that are consulted,  
cited and quoted**

( A )

**Books that are abbreviated**

A. E. }	Ancient Eras (Gen. Cunningham)
A. E. C. }	
A. G. I.	Ancient Geography of India (N. Dey)
A. I.	Ancient India
A. S. I.	Archeological Survey of India
A. S. R. I.	Archeological Survey Report of India
A. S. S. I.	Archeological Survey in Southern India
A. S. W. I.	Archeological Survey in Western India
A. R. S. I.	Archeological Report of South India
B. I.	Buddhist India (Pro. Rhys Davids)
Bh. A.	Ashok (by Dr. D. R. Bhāndārkar)
Bh. S. I. }	Bhārat-no Sankshipta Itihās
Bha. Sam. Itihās }	(Pro. Balkrishna)
Bh. P. R. }	Bhārat-no Prāchin Rājvanśa
Bh. P. R. Bh. }	(V. Rāu)
Bh. P. L.	Bhārātiya Prāchin Lipi-Mālā (G. Ozā)
C. A. I. }	Coins of Ancient India
A. C. I. }	(Gen. Cunningham)
C. A. R.	Cat. of Coins of Andhra Dynasty (Rapson)
C. H. I.	Cambridge History of India
C. H. S. }	
C. Sh. H. I. }	Short Cambridge History of India
C. S. H. }	
C. D. }	Indian Chronology
C. I. }	(Mrs. Duff)
E. H. I.	Early History of India (Vincent Smith)
E. I.	Epigraphia Indica
H. H.	The Hindu History (A. K. Majmudar)
H. I. E. A.	History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (James Fergusson)
I. A. }	
Ind. Ant. }	Indian Antiquary
I. H. Q. }	
J. I. H. Q. }	The Journal of the Indian Historical Quarterly

- J. A. H. R. S.      The Journal of the Andhra Historical  
Research Society
- J. R. A. S. {      The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society  
J. A. S. B. {      of Bengal
- J. B. B. R. A. S.      The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the  
Royal Asiatic Society
- J. R. S. }      The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society  
J. R. A. S. }      of London  
R. A. S. }
- J. B. O. R. S. {      The Journal of the Orissa and Bihar  
J. O. B. R. S. {      Research Society
- J. S. I. }      The Studies in Sanskrit in Southern India  
S. I. S. I. }      (Prof. K. S. Aryanagar)
- J. S. S.      Journal of the Sankarabhadra Quarterly
- K. S. S. }      The Sukh-Bodhi Commentaries of  
K. S. S. C. }      Kalpa-Sutra  
K. S. C. }
- M. S. I.      Manuscripta Sanskrita India  
(Acharya Anandabhadramanikuri)
- O. H. I.      Oriental History of India
- P. D. I.      Panini's Dialectic list of the Kharage
- R. I. S.      The Indian & India Series (including of)
- R. W. W.      The Habitation Records of the Western World  
(S. Beal)
- S. B. I.      The Sacred Books of the East

(B)

**Books quoted but not abbreviated**

- Abdullah Chittaman (Dr. Hema Chandrahar)
- Acharya Sutra
- Acta Orientalia
- Antenna Pralim
- Anandash
- Ancient History of the Deccan (G. J. Dabrey)
- Ancient & Modern India
- Annals of the Indian Institute (Dr. V. S. Sukdathanker)
- Antiquities of Orissa (Dr. H. C. Mitra)
- Artatama (Chandakya)
- Atika Rulers of India Series (V. Smith)
- Asokana Shikhar (Dr. Jagatendra Saha)

- Āvaśyaka Vṛtti ( Haribhadra Sūri )  
 Ayodhyā Tīrtha  
 Bengāl, Bihār and Oḍisā ke Jaina Smārak  
 Bhārḥūt Stūpa ( Gen. Cunningham )  
 Bhilsā Topes ( „ „ )  
 Bhāgavat  
 Bharateśvar Bāhubali Vṛtti  
 Br̥hatkathā ( Guṇādhyā )  
 Br̥hatsamhitā  
 Buddhiprakāś ( G. V. S. )  
 Ceylonese Chronicles  
 Chaturvinśati Prabandh  
 Chāmūṇḍarāy Purāṇ  
 Dipavaṃśa  
 Divyāvadān  
 Gangā (Magazine)  
 Gāthāsaptasati (Hāl)  
 Gauḍvaho (Vākpatirāj)  
 Gujarāti (Weekly—Bombay)  
 Harṣa Charita  
 Heart of Jainism ( J. Stevenson )  
 History of Orissā ( R. D. Banerjee )  
 Indian Culture (Quarterly Magazine—Calcutta)  
 Jagannāth nī Mūrti and Bhārat num Bhaviṣya ( N. V. Thakkur )  
 Jainism in Northern India ( C. J. Shah )  
 Jain (Weekly—Bhāvanagar)  
 Jain Jyoti (Weekly)  
 Jain Dharma Prakāś (Monthly—Bhāvanagar)  
 Jain Yuga (Fortnightly—Bombay)  
 Jain Satya Prakāś (Monthly—Ahmedabad)  
 Jain Jāgr̥ti (Monthly—Ahmedabad)  
 Jainism (Glazanaap)  
 Jain Kāl Gaṇanā (Muni Kalyāṇvijayji)  
 Jain Sidhdhānt Bhāskar (Quarterly, Hindi)  
 „ Antiquary ( „ Eng. )  
 Kalyāṇ (Magazine)  
 Kanarise dynasty (Dr. Fleet)

- Kalpa Sūtra  
 Kathā Sarit Sāgar (Somadev)  
 Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions (Sten Konow)  
 Lokavibhāg  
 Mahākṣatrap Rājā-Rūdradāmā I. (Sūri)  
 Mālavikāgnimitra  
 Mathurā and its Antiquities (V. Smith)  
 Mathurāno Simhadhvaja (Indravijay Sūri)  
 Mahābhārat  
 Mahāvamśa  
 Mudrārākṣasa  
 Nāgari Prachārīṇi (Magazine)  
 Pancha Sidhdhāntikā  
 Parisiṣṭha Parva  
 Political History of India (H. Roy Chaudhary)  
 Prabandha Chintāmaṇi  
 Prabhāvaka Charitra  
 Prāchin Bhāratvarṣa num Simhāvalokaṇ  
 Pragnāpanā Sūtra  
 Purāṇ—  
     Brahmāṇḍ  
     Mārkaṇḍeya  
     Matsya  
     Vāyu  
     Viṣṇu  
     Yuga  
 Rājatarāṅgiṇi  
 Sanskrit and Prākṛit rock-edicts of Bhāvanagar State (Peterson)  
 Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Pro. Williams)  
 Sārth Joḍaṇikośa (Guj. Vidyāpiṭha)  
 Sudhā (Magazine)  
 Samanta Pras-ā-dikā  
 Sudarśana Vibhās (Translation-from Chinese sources)  
 Sūtra Krutāṅg  
 Svapnavāsavadattā  
 Uvāsagdaśāo  
 Vaijayanti (Buddha-Dictionary)  
 Vircharita (Shree Hemchandrāchārya)

## PREFACE

With this volume ends the history of Ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. As stated in the prefaces to the previous volumes, this work is an outcome of a life-time of incessant research work and study. That does not mean, however, that all that is said here is gospel truth. But let none of my readers and critics doubt my sincerity. Infallibility, I do not claim. I would only request my readers to go through the pages of this book with an open mind and give their judgement impartially.

When any novel theory is floated in the field of ancient history, it is but natural that it should be fiercely and relentlessly criticized by all, who have been accustomed to old theories about the same subject. Once our opinion is formed and fixed as regards a point, it is very difficult to change it, no matter how catholic minded we are. Human nature takes time to be convinced. Hence the usual fate of a new theory, inspite of its being supported with a sufficient number of convincing pieces of evidence, is fierce denunciation. When people recover from the first shock of its novelty, they begin gradually to think about it. Then vacillating between distrust and belief, they are at last convinced one way or the other. I am, therefore, not at all surprised at the hot reception that is being accorded to my volumes, which contain nothing, if not novel and startling theories. Novelty as it is, is the very soul of these volumes. I am prepared to wait. I am prepared to be refuted. What I am not prepared for, is any doubt as to my sincerity of purpose. What I am not prepared for, is the insidious suggestion that these volumes have been written, not in the service of history, but in a partisan spirit, with a view to propaganda for Jainism. I request my readers and my critics to judge my volumes on the basis of facts which they present. I invite them to dissect and analyse every point in these volumes. And I request them to be open-minded and impartial.

• These volumes are intended for scholars as well as for laymen. Hence, minute details are given in the foot-notes. The book itself

contains a presentation of those things only, which are likely to interest the general reader, for whom also, these volumes are meant. At the same time, advanced students of history will also find much to attract their attention and deserve their notice. The primary motive however, is to initiate the general commonalty of readers into the cowebs of Ancient Indian history and to make them permanently interested in the glorious past of India.

Part IX is connected with the account of the Kuṣāna dynasty. The first two chapters are devoted to the account of the Kuṣānas in general. The third is devoted to an account of the Western Kṣatrapas (Chasṭhaṇ dynasty). Various interesting points have been raised and discussed in this chapter. The first chapter contains an account of the origin, chronology and of other matters concerning the dynasty. I have proved that there were two Kaniṣkas as against one. I have also proved that Huviṣka was quite different from Juṣka, which was but another name of Vāsiṣka. Huviṣka was the regent of Kaniṣka II during his minority. When Kaniṣka came to the throne, he allotted a certain portion of his kingdom to him, and established him as an independent king over that region. I have also proved that the Śāka era was begun much later than A. D. 78.

Part X. This part is devoted to the account of the Chedi dynasty. It consists of five chapters. The first chapter begins with an account of the origin of the dynasty and ends with Kṣemrāj. In the second chapter, I have proved that Puṣyamitra Śunga florished two centuries after Khārvel and his contemporary Brhaspatimitra, the king of Magadh. I have also proved that No. 103 in the inscription belongs to the Mahāvira era, and that the inscription was erected with a religious end in view. The third chapter contains further details about Khārvel and about the inscription. Chapter fourth is devoted to discussions of the Mahāvijay Prāsād, of famine, of the Jaina idol in Kaling and of the idols at the temple of Jagannāthpuri. Details about Trikalīng have been given in Chapter V. There has also been instituted a comparison between Khārvel and Priyadarśin. The chapter ends with the accounts of the remaining kings of the dynasty.

Part XI.—Much research work remains to be made about the Āndhra dynasty. We request the scholars to direct their attention to the history of south India. This part has been divided into fourteen chapters. The first four chapters are devoted to the details about race, family, origin, time, number, chronology and titles of the Āndhra king. The next two chapters are about inscriptions by the Āndhra and other kings. The remaining eight chapters contain an account of the thirty kings of the dynasty. The main novel points to which I desire to draw the attention of my readers are:—(1) The dates and parents of Śrīmukh, the founder of the dynasty. (2) Whether 78 A. D. is the correct date of the starting of the Śaka era. (3) The connection of the Maitrak, Traikūṭak and Chālukya dynasties with the Gupta dynasty. (4) In ancient times, kings did not fight for political purposes; they fought for religious purposes only. (5) Most of the inscriptions and charity-deeds of ancient times are connected with religion and not with politics, as is mistakenly believed by scholars.

The author takes this opportunity, to thank all, who have helped him, one way or the other, in bringing out these volumes. He acknowledges his debt to various historical treatises, a full list of which is given elsewhere, and to all historians, whom he has quoted in the volumes. He also recognized the services of the translator of these volumes, from Vernacular into English—Prof. R. J. Desai, M. A. of the Dharmendrasinhji College, Rajkot. Last, but not the least, he forwards his thanks to those readers, scholars, and reviewers who have, through love for history, penned something about theories set forth in these volumes.

T. L. SHAH

## Pictures in the Book

The pictures are divided in 3 parts (A) General (B) Decorative (C) & Maps. The first line of numbers shows the serial numbers of pictures themselves and the second line indicates the page in the book, on which their description is given. Deficiency of numbers in A division are to be taken as referring to those in B & C divisions.

### (A) General pictures

<i>No.</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Details</i>
1		<b>Cover page:</b> —The picture represents Kalpa-drūma, Kalpataru or Kalpa-vṛkṣa; for its description, please refer to Vol. I, pp. 25 in the preface-portion.
2		<b>Title page:</b> —The dome of the Sāñchī-stūpa. For details vide Vol. II, Pref. pp. 19 and index in this Vol. These details will convince the reader that the Tope belongs to Jainism. It was erected in commemoration of Mahāvīr's death.
3		<b>Title page:</b> —The Elephant at the entrance of Hāthigumfā cave. It is a tribute to the sculptural art of the times. The reader will see that the cave with its inscription is carved out by Khārvel, while the elephant is erected by Priyadarśin at the top of his Dhauli Jāguḍā rock-edict. This proves that Khārvel flourished before Priyadarśin and that Elephant was the symbol of Priyadarśin. For further details about the elephant, vide index in Vol. II.
5	22	Portrait-head of Kaḍaphis I; it is reproduced from his coins (vide Vol. II, coin no. 87).
6	26	Portrait-head of Kaḍaphis II; it is also reproduced from his coins like the above (vide Vol II, coin no. 88).



No.	Page	Details
8	31	All these four portrait-heads, respectively of Kaniṣka I, Huviṣka, Kaniṣka II & Vāsudev I, have been taken from their coins. (Vide Vol. II, Chapter on coins). The fact that Vāsudev had changed the religion of his forefathers is evident on the reverse side of the coin.
9	46	
10	48	
11	51	
13	63	Portrait-heads of Chaṣṭhaṇ & his grandson Rūdra-dāman; for their faces, refer to their coins in Vol. II. The reader will see that both faces resemble each other in several respects.
14	75	
15	29	The idol of Vem Kaḍaphisis II. It shows the body only and gives us an idea of the manner of the royal dress and ornaments (see also below. Nos. 16 & 17).
16 } 17 }	29	No. 16 represents the body of Kaniṣka II (we have proved that there were two Kaniṣkas and not only one); & No. 17 that of Chaṣṭhaṇ, as based on the Māṭa idol which has been found out with both of them. The heads in both the idols seem to have been destroyed. It is curious that these two idols as well as No. 15 have no heads. We intended to get the heads represented by an artist, on the basis of details available to us, but the details available are not enough for the purpose.
22	159	Mahāvijay-prāsād-Amrāvati stūpa. Upto 3rd century B. C. the whole region of Dhankaṭak, in which the stūpa is situated was full of Jains, thus indicating that the relics found out from there, belong to Jainism (For further details vide Vol. I, pp. 150-9)
23	165	The trio in the temple at Jagannāthpuri. Though the architecture of the temple resembles that of Bhūvaneśvar (fig. no. 37 below), yet the trio of the idols is an exact prototype of the trio found in the region of Bhilsā Topes (Plate XXII, "The Bhilsā Topes" by General Cunningham). It may be stated here that though the temple is generally accepted today as belonging to the Vedic religion, yet in ancient times it had connections with other religions also,

No.	Page	Details
26}	198	Two foot-prints found out from the excavations near the Amrāvati Stūpa. For details please refer to the text.
27}		
28	167	Signs representing Tri-ratna. Scholars have interpreted them as "The Buddha, the Law and the Order". We have proved that they belong to Jainism.
29}	199	These two idols represent Pārśvanāth, the 23rd Jaina Tirthanker. One is single & the other is Chaumukhji. They are found out of the excavations near the Amarāvati stūpa in the region of Dhan-kaṭak—Bennākaṭak. This proves that the Amarāvati stūpa itself belongs to Jainism. The Madras Government Communique of 30-12-29 states that another tope, resembling Amarāvati stūpa in shape and size has been found out in the region. Details are given in Vol. I, pp. 149, fig. no. 20 & 21.
30}		
31, 32, } 33, 34 }	197 & 198	Nahapāṇ-pillar & Gautamiputra pillar; Tirhut pillar & Sankisā-pillar. Details are given on the pages referred to. This proves that the region—Govardhan-samay—containing the first two pillars and the various caves round about, has more to do with Jainism than with other religions.
35	169	The temple at Jagannāthpūrī, where there is the trio referred to in No. 23. It has three court-yards and has lions at the entrance. In the main court-yard is the Aruṇ-stambha. Details are given in the text on the page referred to.
36	172-73	Aruṇ-stambha (vide No. 35 above). Similar stambhas are found in the Jaina temples (Bastis) in south India. There they are called Mān-stambhas. One of them (No. 38 below) has been given here for the sake of comparison. (The picture has been borrowed from "His. of Ind. and Eastern Architecture".)
37	165-70	The temple of Bhūvaneśvar in the village of the same name. It resembles No. 35 (vide descr. No. 23 above) in many ways. The Hāthīgumfā cave is very near this place.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Details</i>
38	172—3	Mānstambha (vide no 36) It is produced here for the sake of comparison only. For details vide the next.
39, 40, } 41, 42 }		The Torans ( Front-pieces ). Entrance-doors of the Sāñchi, Bhārhūt and Mathurā Topes; and a slab for performing religious rites at Mathurā. For details vide pages mentioned against the illustrations.
43		Priyadarsin's portrait-head. Unfortunately Khārvel's portrait-head has not yet been found out. Both these Jaina emperors have contributed greatly towards the maintainance of their own faith and the uplift of humanity in general.
44, 45, 46		Mathurā-lion-capital pillar; Sāñchi-pillar & the Sarnāth pillar. Even at the first eight, one will see that the pillars do resemble one another. They all belong to & speak of the sanctity of the same faith. For details refer to the place quoted against every one of them.

## ( B ) Decorative pictures

### Part IX

**Chap. I** ( Fig. 4, pp. 1 ) The hilly foreigners and the peace-loving natives of India. They quarreled constantly on account of temperamental differences.

**Chap. II** ( Fig. 7, pp. 30 ) Kaniska extends his territory to the north of the Himālayas. The Chinese bow down before him. After his conquest he is murdered by an unknown soldier.

**Chap. III** ( Fig. 12, pp. 54 )—Conquest of Avanti by Chaṣṭhaṇ. He assumes the title "King". His native place for the hilly region of central Asia.

## Part X

**Chap. I** ( Fig. 18, pp. 91 )—The term "Chedi" is derived from Chhedi or Chhedan" i. e. cutting of the bamboo forests. By a stroke of good fortune Karkapā is selected for kingship by the female-elephant. Jainism spreads among the people.

**Chap. II** ( fig. 19, pp. 110 ) Nand I had wrested the favourite Jaina idol from the forefathers of Khārvel. Khārvel has reconquered it and he rejoices in his victory.

**Chap. III** (fig. 20, pp. 127) Khārvel pursues the Śātakarni king beyond banks of the Kṛmā and defeats him.

Khārvel extends the canal to his kingdom, the canal that was dug by the Nanda king in order to save his people from the effects of the famine.

**Chap. IV** ( fig. 21, pp. 151 )—Even during the times of famine, Khārvel devoted his energy to the revival and spread of learning by making provision for the preservation of books. He believed that the idol which was carved in the image of the same as that of Jagannāth. He got the Arudavate T. preserved.

**Chap. V** ( fig. 22, pp. 170 )—Chandragupta overthrew in such a way that the poison boiled out marrow of Valragra. The death of Valragra and the conquest of the Mauryas upto Ceylon.

## Part XI

**Chap. I** ( fig. 53, pp. 203 ) The Arava lands at the confluence between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godavari near the city Aravavata and thus starts the mingling of two civilisations. Khārvel defeats Śrīmukh and drives him to the south.

**Chap. II** ( fig. 54, pp. 218 )—The female elephant selects Nand IX as the king of Marathi, then he was born of a woman. The scholars seem disconcerted at this choice.

**Chap. III** ( fig. 55, pp. 236 )—Chandragupta the conqueror. People migrating to the new capital with their bag and baggage.

**Chap. IV** ( fig. 56, pp. 257 )—The ruins of Antaratā a large, flourishing and well fortified city in South India. Pṛasāda defeats and drives off the Śātakarni king. Agnimitra desires the help of Patañjali who makes him perform the sacrifice.

**Chap. V** ( fig. 58, pp. 273 )—Erection of rock-edicts by the king. The king absorbed in the meditation of the past and its relation to the future.

**Chap. VI** ( fig. 59, pp. 294 )—The queen erecting the rock-edicts. Fine arts flourished to a high degree in ancient India.

**Chap. VII** ( fig. 60, pp. 320 )—Marriage of Nāganikā. She assumes the responsibilities of the administration, as the heir-apparent is a minor. Śrimukh is going southwards.

**Chap. VIII** ( fig. 62, pp. 355 )—The cat-shaped wooden stopper causes the death of the suckling prince. Woe to the cats; foreign visitors to India have praised her in highly eloquent terms. Princess Sanghmitrā's departure to a foreign country for a religious mission.

**Chap. IX** ( fig. 64, pp. 349 )—Small rock-edicts were erected by Priyadarśin at places where his relatives had died; prince Tival's murder; king Śātakarṇi befriends Patañjali by paying him high respect.

**Chap. X** ( fig. 66, pp. 361 )—Marriage of Agnimitra and Mālavikā. Raising of his own flag, by Rṣabh-datta (the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ) at the holy region around Nāsik, as a sign of his conquest. Vikramāditya defeats the Yavanas and relieves the people from their persecution.

**Chap. XI** ( fig. 67, pp. 372 )—King Śālivāhan was as great a patron of literature as he was brave. He married the princess of Ceylon after conquering that country. He got numerous temples built at Pālitāṇā and raised the religious flag there.

**Chap. XII** ( fig. 68, pp. 384 )—A maiden greeting the symbols of the ancient past. The youth rushing expectantly towards the future.

**Chap. XIII** ( fig. 70, pp. 398 )—The serpent—prince is infatuated with the beauty of a girl bathing in the Godāvāri, and as a result, a son is born to the girl. The boy is the great hero of the future. The future king Hāl is playing with toys, and is arranging them into military formations.

**Chap. XIV** ( fig. 71, pp. 407 )—When a great empire goes to pieces, small kingdoms take their birth and establish themselves as autonomous units.

## ( G ) Maps

*Fig. Map Pp.*

No. No. No.

- 25 1 180 Map of Trikalīng; showing the territorial extent of Khārvel (according to scholars). As a matter of fact, however, Khārvel's territory extended far beyond Madurā in the south (vide Fig. No. 52, Map No. 7 given below).
- 47 2 186 Map showing the region of Bhārḥūt and Rūpnāth Stūpas. These places are situated on the banks of a tributary of the Ganges. At the Rūpnāth edict, the place where Vāsūpūjya the 12th Jaina Tīrthanker died, Priyadarśin also got the elephant carved out. Champānagarī was also situated in this region, between Rūpnāth and Jabbalpore. For details vide index Vol. II.
- 48 3 186 Map showing the region around Bhārḥūt Stūpa. For details vide indexes Vol. I & II.
- 49 4 32 Kanīṣka's territorial extent. Excluding Avantī, practically the whole of North India is under his power. The Āndhras also have taken a slice from the Gardabhila territory.
- 50 5 49 The territorial extent of Kanīṣka II. He granted independence to his chiefs. Thus, Chaṣṭhaṇ became independent, drove out the Gardabhilas from Avantī, and assumed the title " King ". Then he defeated the Āndhras and forced them to vacate Paiṭhaṇ and retreat to a place far in south India. Hence, there are only two powers in India; the Kuśānas in the north and the Chaṣṭhaṇas in the east and the west. This continued upto the time of Rūdradāman.
- 51 6 104 Condition of India in the 5th century B. C. Nand I established his empire in north India, and Kṣemrāj established an independent kingdom in Kaling. Nand I tried to defeat him and take over Kaling also, but Kṣemrāj was a match for him.

**Fig. Map Pp.****No. No. No.**

- 52 7 186 Map showing the political condition of India during the rule of Nanda kings from III to VIII. Khārvel had by this time established a large empire in the south, right upto Ceylon. He had also defeated the Nanda king and reobtained the famous Jaina idol. He never annexed the conquered territories. Hence we find the petty kingdoms of Cholā, Pallav and Pāṇḍyā.
- 57 8 259 Map representing "Govardhan-samay", where are found the various inscriptions of Nāsik, Nānāghāṭ, Junner, Kanheri, Kārle etc. Tri-raśmi and Rukṣa or Rathāvarta mountains and Paiṭhaṇ were situated in this region.
- 61 9 331 Śrimukh, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty has established his Āndhra empire, just to the west of the Kaling empire & his son Āndhrapati No. 2 appears to extend it much to the south.
- 63 10 340-2 Mallik-Śree Āndhrapati No. 4, taking advantage of the political situation in Magadh, during the latter part of rule of Bindusar, greatly enlarges the Āndhra empire, which is being fortified by his successors No. 4, 5 & 6 Āndhrapates.
- 65 11 358 Āndhrapates, who were under the vassalage of the Magadhan emperor, freed themselves from the bondage after the death of Emp-Priyadarśin. This is continued till the end of No. 17; who again in his turn extends the empire further to the south upto Ceylon.
- 69 12 369 Peaceful times prevail & the rulers reign uneventfully.
- 72 13 409 The Western Kṣatrapas appear on the field under the able guidance of Chaṣṭhaṇ, Rūdradāman & his successors, who force the Āndhras to evacuate the northern portion of the Deccan; and the Āndhras after a rule of nearly 7 centuries, the longest in the history of the whole world, is disappearing in the abyss of misfortune.

# ANCIENT INDIA

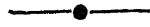
Vol. IV

comprising

Parts IX to XI



# PART 9



## The Kuśāna Dynasty

- I Chapter Introductory and General  
Kaḍaphisis I, Kujul  
Kaḍaphisis II, Vem
- II Chapter (1) Kaniška I  
(2) Vāsiška, Vazeška, Zeška Juška  
(3) Huviška—Huška  
(4) Kaniška II  
(5) Vāsudev I  
(6 to 13) The remaining petty kings
- III Chapter The Western Kṣatrapas or  
The Chaṣṭhaṇa Dynasty  
(1) Ghṣamotik  
(2) Chaṣṭhaṇ  
(3) Jayadāman; Rūdradāman



## Chapter I

### The Kuṣāṇa Dynasty

**Synopsis:**—*The Kuṣāṇa Dynasty flourished after 100 A. D. Hence it goes outside the time-limit, that has been fixed for this work; the reasons for including its account in this volume—Details about Hūns and Kuṣāṇs as Āryans and the differences between them—Duration of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty and the extent of its territory—a dynastic list of the Kuṣāṇa Kings and their chronological order—Clearance of many misapprehensions.*

*The various sects of Kuṣāṇs, their origin and other details about them—The relations between Kaḍaphis I and the Kuṣāṇs—his political career—Reasons why Kaḍaphis II has been considered a foreign prince, though he ruled in India—His conquests and feats, and details about his territorial extent—His connections with Takṣillā and Mathurā, the two great cities of northern India—The starting of the Kuṣāṇa era.*

## THE KUŚĀNA DYNASTY

It has already been made known to the readers that these volumes are concerned with a connected account of the history of India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. For the sake of convenience and clarity, we have treated northern India and southern India as separate

**Introductory** entities. As fuller materials are available about northern India, we have hitherto devoted the pages of these volumes to an account of the dynasties that ruled in it. The main bulk of the volumes has been devoted to the Magadha empire and to the Avantī empire, the two largest empires in those times. A detailed account has also been given of foreign princes, some of whom invaded India at various times with a view to plunder the soil, gather the booty and go away, and some of whom invaded her with the intention of making her their future home.

Now we turn to southern India; but before doing so, we propose to devote some pages to an account of the Kuśāns. The reasons for doing so are as follows:—(1) A. D. 78 has been taken as the year in which the Kuśāna era was started. This date is certainly within the time-limit fixed for these volumes. (2) My researches tell me that the Kuśāna era had been started much later than 78 A. D.; yet I propose to give some details about these people, because their civilization had a powerful effect on India. (3) The belief that the Āryans of India descended from the Hūṇs (the whites) is gaining ground. These Hūṇs, it is believed, had their home on the north of the Himālayas<sup>1</sup>. Again, it is quite probable that the Hūṇs and the Kuśāns were related to one another by ties of blood.

Let us try to find out whether the Hūṇs and the Kuśāns had any blood-relationship and whether, either or both of them were the ancestors of the Āryans. One of the sects of ancient Āryans was known as Gūrjaras<sup>2</sup>. The theory has been advanced that they came to India from Georgia. The theory is probably based

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(1) Vol. III, pp. 320.

(2) Vol. III, pp. 313 and further.

on the similarity of pronunciations<sup>3</sup>. This province of Georgia was situated in the N. E. or S. E. of Asian Turkey near Mt. Caucasus<sup>4</sup>, between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea.

Hūns and Kuśāns  
as Āryans

Hence it has been imagined that, that was the original home of the Āryans<sup>5</sup>, who, in course of time, began to migrate towards all directions.

We should here take notice of the fact, however, that this theory has been based on the similarity of pronunciations only<sup>6</sup>. This is reason number one against the theory. Another reason is that the original home of the Āryans has been proved to be in Jambūdwīp, and that Śākadvīp was the home of the non-Āryans<sup>7</sup>. The region about Mt. Caucasus is included in Śākadvīp and hence it cannot be taken as the home of the Āryans. It is possible that some of the Āryan tribes might have first migrated towards the region about Mt. Caucasus and settled there for a long time and hence the scholars might have called it the home of the Āryans<sup>8</sup>. We have proved that the composers of the sacred books of Hinduism were natives of Śākasthān<sup>9</sup>, which is at present known by the name Śeistān, and which is situated in the S. W. of

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(3) Read f. n. no. 6 below for the confusions arising out of the similarity of pronunciations.

(4) Vol. III, pp. 320.

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(7) Vol. III, pp. 89. (Further study reveals that the north-eastern region of Arabiā, lying on the south coast of the Persian gulf and the region round about the mouths of the river Euphratis and Tigris must be this Ādradeś)

(8) The readers should be clear about the difference between the home of the Āryans and the region which they subsequently occupied. Cf. f. n. no. 10 below.

(9) Vol. III, pp. 92 to 96.

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(9) Vol. III, pp. 92 to 96.

Afgānistān, round and about lake Hamam. Hence, it becomes evident that different tribes of Āryans must have migrated to different regions and settled there<sup>10</sup>. One such tribe must have settled in the region about Mt. Caucasus, another must have settled in the region around the Euphratis and still another in Śakasthān the home of the composers of the sacred Vedic lore.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the home of the Kuśāns and the Hūṇs. It is generally believed that the Hūṇs lived originally on the other side of the Hindukush-ranges. If these people wanted to come to Indla, they must have first gone southwards, because it was not possible to cross the Hindukush on the north and the west. This region is included in Jambūdwīp (Vol. III, pp. 84 and further). Hence the Hūṇs were definitely Āryans.

Nothing definite is known about the home of the Kuśāns, but looking to the way they came to India, we can definitely state that they must have come from the other side of the Hindukush. The region from which they came may have been somewhere near Asian Turkey or in Khoṭān and Tibeṭ. Certain pieces of evidence led us to the conclusion that some region in Tibeṭ must have been their original home<sup>11</sup>. Certain other pieces, on the other hand, tell us that they must have come from central Asia<sup>12</sup>. This

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(10) The place of origin, according to Hinduism, means the revival of a race at a particular place, after the flood.

According to Jainism, origin means the beginning of Ārā after the extinction of the previous one.

The universe has, according to both religions, neither beginning nor end. It is eternal.

(11) Read the accounts of Wimā Kaḍaphisis and of Kaniṣka I, given further in this volume. They had a desire to have blood-relationship with the Chinese emperor.

(12) A special appendix has been devoted to Chaṣṭhaṇ in this volume. It has been proved in it that he began his career as a Kṣatrap of the Kuśāns and that he adopted the Kuśāna era. In short, his actions create the impression that he was a Kuśān himself. In vol. II, pp. 50 to 55, I have stated at several places that he was a Hūṇ. Again, I have stated on the authority of his coins that the Hūṇs came originally from the Asian Turkey. (Vol. II, pp. 50 to 55 and vol. III, pp. 141, coin no. 102). Those theories now require changes.

makes it obvious that the Hūns and the Kuśāns had different homes and were thus different from one another. Their homes, however, are included in the ancient boundaries of Jambūdwīp, and hence both may be accepted as Āryans.

It has been stated in vol. III, that the region connecting Jambūdwīp and Śākadvīp is a straight line between the Caspian Sea and the port of Gwāḍer on the Persian Gulf. (Vol. III, pp. 89; see the map there, fig. no. 46, line AB)<sup>13</sup>. Again, it has been already proved that the original home of the Āryans was in Jambūdwīp and not in Śākadvīp. Hence the home of the Āryans must be on the east of the straight line indicated above.

The Āryans migrated towards five different regions from their original home:—(1) the region about Caucasus; (2) the region about the Euphratis and the Tigris; (3) Śakasthān-Śeistān; (4) the N. E. region around Hindukush; (5) and central Asia. Out of these five, the first two regions were situated in Śākadvīp, and the last three in Jambūdwīp. Hence we devote our attention to the last three. Let us now try to find out the region from which they migrated to these five places. It is very probable that their original home was that region of Asian Turkey in central Asia, where are situated the cities of Bokhārā and Murva, and where is also situated the lake Eral<sup>14</sup>, the water of which is drinkable and in which flow the rivers Oxus and Āmu. Both the Vedic and the Jaina religions state that Mt. Meru was situated just there. (Vol. III, details about Jambūdwīp, pp. 84 and further). The author of Hindu History (B. C. 3000 to A. D. 1200) states<sup>15</sup>:—"Bactria, now

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(13) Or, a straight line might be drawn from the Caspian Sea to the ports of Basarā and Koveṭ on the Persian Gulf (Vol. III, pp. 91, fig. no. 46 line CD). This, however, does not make much change in the boundary, except that the region about the mouths of Euphratis and Tigris, where Bagdād and Basarā are situated, must be considered as the home of the Āryans (f. n. no. 5 above). (The "Semetic Origin" according to certain scholars).

(14) Sometimes it is known as "A sea" on account of its vast area. Again, two rivers flow into it.

(15) H. H. pp. 628.



Russiatie Turkestan, was our Balhika or Bakshu Desa, a home of the Āryans in central Asia."

In short, (1) The central portion of Jambūdīp, which the scriptures have stated to have been Meru, was situated in central Asia, about lake Erat<sup>16</sup>; (2) The cities of Bokhārā and Mūru are situated in that region; (3) That region was the original home of the Āryans; (4) They migrated towards various directions in the course of time.

These are the conclusions at which I have arrived. There may be pieces of evidence going against them<sup>17</sup>; but so far as they are not found out, we may take these conclusions as authoritative.

The Hūṇs and Kuśāns were believed to be of the same origin on account of the following reasons:—(1) Little information is available about them; and it comes out from the Hūṇs and Kuśāns that the little we know that the homes of both these people were on the other side of the Himālayas, that both were fair-skinned and that both being warlike, invaded India and consolidated their power over some of her regions. (2) Chaṣṭhaṇ was taken to have been a descendant of the Kuśāns because it was proved on the evidence of his coins that the home was in central Asia. The author of Rājatarangīni has, moreover, stated that Kuśāna kings of Kāśmir, by name Kanīṣka, Huviṣka and Juṣka, belonged to "Turushka i. e. Turkic nationality<sup>18</sup>". This makes it evident that the Kuśāns must have been natives of central Asia. In short, the Hūṇs and Kuśāns were believed to be branches of the same people. (3) An idol of Chaṣṭhaṇ has been found out at the village of Māt<sup>19</sup> near Mathura side by side with an idol of a Kuśāna king. (4) The Chaṣṭhaṇs adopted the era that was started by Kanīṣka<sup>20</sup>.

(16) Full details about this are given in vol. III, pp. 88 and further.

(17) I have come across a piece or two of evidence against these conclusions. I have referred to them in the introduction to this volume.

(18) Vol. II, pp. 361.

(19) Read the next chapter.

(20) Read the next chapter.

These four reasons thus lent colour to the view, that both these people were the branches of the same race. Later researches, however, reveal that the coins of Chaṣṭhaṇ<sup>21</sup> bear portrait-heads quite different from those on the coins of Kuśāna kings<sup>22</sup>. Again, it is very improbable that the home of the Kuśāns might have been Turkey<sup>23</sup>. Evidence supports the contention that they must have had blood-relationship with the Chinese emperors<sup>24</sup>. Their coins also bear traces of resemblance with the Chinese manners of life.

Hence we come to the conclusion that:—(1) The Chaṣṭhaṇas came from central Asia; (2) The Kuśāns must have come from Tibet or China and must have been closely connected with those people; (3) The Hūṇs must have come from the region of Pāmir and Khoṭān, situated on the other side of the Himālayas, near the Hindukush.

Thus these three foreigners hailed from the hilly and cold regions on the other side of the Himālayas. Hence they must have had certain common traits like strong constitutions, and similar customs. These resemblances might have led scholars to conclude that they had a common origin. Kaḍaphisis I, the Kuśāna chief has been named with Uci<sup>25</sup> as the chief of the five races by historians<sup>26</sup>. These five races may have been (1) Uci of China. (2) Kuśāns who came from the region about Tibet. (3) Hūṇs who hailed from Khoṭān and Pāmir. (4) Chaṣṭhaṇas who came from central Asia. (5) The Yonas who were a ramment of the Bactrians.

Certain details about Hūṇs have been given in vol. III, pp. 318, f. n. no. 21. Those details are repeated below:—"All legends unanimously declare that Mihirkūl was a blood-thirsty demon. The Hūṇs recklessly set fire to fields and villages alike and massacred people in large numbers. They were strong, agile and

(21) Vol. II, coins nos. 42 and from 85 to 90.

(22) Cf. f. n. no. 20 above.

(23) Cf. f. n. no. 18 above.

(24) Read their accounts in the next chapter.

(25) Vol. III, pp. 96 and pp. 263.

(26) E. H. I. 4th edi., pp. 213.

inhumanly cruel. Their voice was shrill, their gestures wild and their appearance ugly and uncivilized. Indians looked at them with terror-stricken and disgusted eyes. They were a race of broad-shouldered, flat-nosed apes with small eyes deep-set in their heads. They did not grow any beard (or very little) and hence neither looked manly when young nor respectable when old." Such descriptions of the Kuśāns and the Chaṣṭhaṇs are not available. Their coins, however, make it abundantly clear that both of them have little in common with the Hūṇs. This is one more proof that they were different people belonging to different races.

Some details, already proved in the foregoing chapters, require recapitulation here, in order to freshen the memory of the reader.

It has been already proved that the Kuśāns were at the zenith of their power in the province of Sūrsen in northern India, and that its capital was Mathurā. Below are given, in a tabular form, details about dynasties—both foreign and Indian, that wielded sway at various times over the regions lying between Mathurā and the home of the Kuśāns.

Time	Powers	Regions
(1) B. C. 327 to 317 B. C. = 10 years.	Governors of Alexander the Great.	The Punjab
(2) B. C. 317 to B. C. 190 = 125 years.	Indian Princes—Jālauk, the son of Priyadarśin and his descendants; and then the Śunga emperors.	The Punjab, Kāśmir and Sursen.
(3) B. C. 190 to B. C. 70 = 120 years.	The Kṣaharātā and the Bactrian rulers; among them, Euthidemos, Demetrius and Menander ruled as sovereigns; and Hagām-Hagāmāśa, Rājuvul, Śoḍās, Liak and Pātik ruled as their governors.	The Punjab and Sursen.
(4) B. C. 70 to A. D. 45 = 115 years.	Indo-Pārthian king Moses and his descendants, Aziz I, Azilises, Aziz II and Goṇḍofārnēs.	The Punjab and Sursen.

The above given table gives us a clear idea of the powers that ruled over northern India from B. C. 327 to A. D. 45. We have also stated that the Kuśāns reached the zenith of their power in Sūrsen. Again, it has been made quite clear that they were foreigners. We have also stated in vol. III, that they could have come to India only by taking a turn round the Hindukūś; and that in order to come to Delhi or Mathurā, they must have traversed through the Punjāb. The table given above makes it crystal clear that the Kuśāns had not been able to obtain any footing in India upto A. D. 45, although it is quite possible that they might have established and consolidated their power in the border provinces.

It, thus, remains for us to find out, at what time and in what regions, they had established their power before they came to India. For this, we shall have to probe into the histories of Afgānistān, Bactriā and Khoṭān and Tibet, the countries which are situated on the borders of India. Of these four countries, Afgānistān and Bactriā were under the rule of the first three powers stated in the table, upto B. C. 75, thus excluding any possibility of the Kuśāns having established their power there. Let us then turn to the two remaining countries, namely, Khoṭān and Tibet. A historian states<sup>27</sup>:—"Hindu Puranas call them (Kusha-Tochari people) Tushars or Tukharas<sup>28</sup>; of the 13 or 14 Tushara kings, we know the names of only four:—Kanishka, Huvishka, Juska and Vasudev or Vasushka." Mr. Vincent Smith<sup>29</sup> says:—"Formation of five Yue-Chi principalities including Kushan and Bamiah...consolidation of the above five kingdoms into one Kushan empire under Kadaphis I." This statement of Mr. Vincent Smith clearly gives us to understand that at first the Yue-Chi race was sub-divided into five parts, of which two were Kuśāns and Bamiyāh, and that in course of time these five sub-races united themselves

(27) H. H. pp. 653.

(28) As the names Kaniṣka, Huviṣka etc. etc. are stated here, there remains no doubt about the identity between Kuśāns and Tuśārs.

(29) Vide pp. 293 of E. H. I. 4th edition.

and established a powerful empire, with Kaḍaphis at the h  
 Thus, we get some idea of the origin of the Kuśāns and of  
 names of some of their kings. We, however, do not get any definite  
 information, whether these princes succeeded one another one after  
 the other, or whether any time intervened between them.  
 In connection with this, Mr. Vincent Smith says:—"Destruction of  
 Indo-Parthian power and gradual conquest of north India by  
 Kadaphasis.....Kadaphasis I died, & accession of Kadaphasis II.  
 Kadaphasis II died in cir. B. C. 110 and Kanishka Kushan accesse  
 cir. B. C. 120<sup>30</sup>.....Thus we see that the first group of kings consist  
 ing of Kaḍaphis I and II and the second group of kings consist  
 of Kanishka, Juṣka and others, belong to the Kuśāna dynasty.  
 Probably the interval between the rules of two groups must have  
 been about ten years<sup>31</sup>. Another writer<sup>32</sup> states:—"Kushan  
 in India (45 A. D. to 290 A. D.)=245 years : their two dynasties  
 in India were (1) Kadaphis dynasty and (2) The Tochari dynasty.  
 We shall later on try to find out whether one group was immediately  
 succeeded by the other or whether there was any interval between  
 the two groups.

We now turn to the question of the duration of their  
 It has been made clear in the foregoing paragraphs that their  
 must have been established in India, any time after 45 A. D.  
 not before that. It was in 45 A. D. that Goṇḍofārnēs went  
 to Persia. Now, it would sound quite possible that the Kuśāna  
 rule was established immediately after Goṇḍofārnēs turned his  
 on India. It would not be wrong, however, to surmise that  
 rule of the dynasty began about 50 A. D. The rule of the dyn

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(30) This clearly shows that there was an interval of ten years between  
 the two groups. If the writer, however, means B. C., he ought to have  
 the second group to have succeeded in 100 B. C. and not in 120 B. C.  
 he has done. Or, he may have actually meant A. D. and not B. C. in  
 case the figures given are correct. (An extract from the author quoted in  
 succeeding page, confirms this latter theory).

(31) Read f. n. no. 30 above.

(32) H. H. pp. 649.

ended, as one of the authors quoted above has stated, in 290 A. D. The same author<sup>33</sup> states:—"The Kushanas held E. India till 280 to 290 A. D. when the Guptas overthrew them". This statement is confirmed by historians who tell us that the Guptas came to India from Nepāl in about 290 A. D., and conquered some portions of northern India and of Magadh and eastern India. Chandragupta alias Vikramāditya I, the third in the dynasty, established the Gupta empire in 319 A. D. Mr. Vincent Smith is of the opinion that the rule of the Kuśāna dynasty in India began in A. D. 120 and ended in A. D. 260. We shall see later on that this contention is not acceptable on many grounds. In short, the rule of dynasty began in 50 A. D. and ended in 290 A. D. i. e. after 240 years.

We shall now try to prepare a chronological list of the rulers of the dynasty. The Purāṇas tell us that there were 13 to 14 kings in the dynasty. Of these, we know names of

**Their chronology** six, four of which belong to the second group and two to the first group. Hence the remaining eight succeeded Vāsudev, whose name is stated as the last of the first six kings. The founder of the dynasty was Kaḍaphisis I. Mr. Vincent Smith also has called the last eight as "Later Kushan Kings". Hence, according to him,<sup>34</sup> the following is the table of Kuśāna kings:—

(1) Kaḍaphisis I (cir.)	40 A. D.	78 A. D.	38 years.
(2) Kaḍaphisis II (cir.)	78 „	110 „	32 „
Interregnum	110 „	120 „	10 „
(3) Kaniṣka	120 „	160 „	40 „
(4) Huviṣka	160 „	182 „	22 „
(5) Vāsudev	182 „	220 „	38 „
(6) Other kings	220 „	260 „	40 „

The author of Rājatarāṅgiṇī<sup>35</sup> and the author of "Maurya Sāmrajya kā Itihās" have stated the chronology in the following

(33) H. H. pp. 658.

(34) E. H. I. 4th edi. pp. 293.

(35) Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Taraṅg I, para. 74, pp. 76.

manner:—(1) Kaḍaphisis I; (2) Kaḍaphisis II; (3) Huviṣka; (4) Juṣka; (5) Kanishka and (6) Vāsudev.

Both Mr. Vincent Smith and the author of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* have gained considerable sway over the students of history as far as the authenticity of the details given by them is concerned. This much, however, may be reasonably stated about the author of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, that he being a native of Kāśmir and a writer of our times, his account of the kings of Kāśmir—and the Kuṣāns were one of the dynasties that ruled over Kāśmir—may be considered more authentic than that given by Mr. Vincent Smith. Again, his account is supported by the author of “Maurya Sāmrajya kā Itihās”<sup>37</sup> though we must also admit that Mr. Vincent Smith is supported by the author of “Hindu History”. Curious as it is, however, it must be noted that Mr. Smith contradicts himself in another book of his—“Mathura and Its Antiquities”—in which he states<sup>37</sup>:—“Six bases of Buddha statues inscribed and dated in the regnal year of the Indo-Scythian rulers Huvishka, Kanishka and Vasudev”. Thus, Mr. Smith is not sure whether Kanishka was the predecessor of Huviṣka or vice versa. The same thing has happened in the case of the author of the *Hindu History*, who says on pp. 656:—“Kanishka who was probably succeeded by one Vasishka”; and who again states on pp. 658:—“Kanishka was succeeded by Juṣka,”<sup>38</sup> about whom we know very little”. The authors of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and of “Maurya Sāmrajya kā Itihās” do not thus contradict themselves, and hence should be considered more authoritative. Mr. Smith, however, is an acute student of oriental history, and his statements are based on the irrefutable evidence of inscriptions. Hence, it would not be proper to set them aside as incredible. Hence, in order to find out a via media between these two authorities, we might suggest the following solutions:—

(a) There were two Kanishkas instead of one; one of them was succeeded by Huviṣka and the other was succeeded by Vāsudev.

(36) M. S. I. pp. 654.

(37) Vide the same book, printed at Allahabad in 1901, pp. 3.

(38) By Juṣka, he really means Huviṣka, because the account given on pp. 656 to 658, refers to Huviṣka.

(b) Juṣka may be taken as another name for Huviṣka<sup>39</sup>; or he may be placed between the two pairs, and thus we might have:—Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Juṣka; Kaniṣka; and Vāsudev as the order of succession.

Of course, these are only tentative solutions which have yet to be proved on the basis of reliable evidence. The chronological list, based on the authority of the author of Rājatarāṅgiṇi, is as follows:—(1) Kaḍaphis I; (2) Kaḍaphis II or Vimā Kaḍaphis; (3) Kaniṣka; (4) Juṣka; (5) Kaniṣka; (6) Vāsudev and then seven or eight kings whose names are not yet known. This list may be accepted as the most reliable one, as long as we cannot arrange another on the basis of sound facts.

(1) On pp. 162 of "Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions" by Sten Konow, it has been stated in connection with the inscription near the village named Ārā:—"Mahārājasya Rājatirājasya Devputrasya Kaisarasya Vazeṣkasya Putrasya Kaniṣkasya"="Of Kaniṣka, the son Kaisara Vazeṣka<sup>40</sup> Emperor Devaputra". In the list given in the above paragraph, we find, on the other hand, the following order of succession: No. 3 Kaniṣka; No. 4 Juṣka; No. 5 Kaniṣka. This means that the second Kaniṣka must either have been the son of Juṣka or related to him in some other way. If we accept the relation of father and son between them, then, as Juṣka is considered to be but another name of Huviṣka<sup>41</sup>, it follows that Kaniṣka was the son of Huviṣka and not of Vāsiṣka as stated in the extract from the inscription, quoted above. If we accept any other relation between them, then the question will be:—"Who was Vāsiṣka, whose name is stated in the inscription referred to above? and why has his name not been included in the list by the author of Rājatarāṅgiṇi? (Is it possible

Difficulties in the acceptance of the above given list and their solutions

(39) See f. n. no. 38 above.

(40) It follows that Kaisar was another name of Vazeṣka. Cf. this with the account of Kaniṣka II in the succeeding chapter.

(41) See f. n. no. 38 above.



that Juṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsiṣka were the names of one and the same individual ? )

(2) In the chronological list mostly accepted for the Kuśāna dynasty, Kanishka has been stated as the successor of Kaḍaphis II. This makes it possible that the relation between them must have been that of father and son. This also gives rise to difficulties similar to those stated in No. I.

(3) In the Ārā inscription, referred to in No. 1 above, Vāsiṣka seems to have connected with his name the title "Emperor". This shows that he was a regular king and as such, his name should be included in the chronological list of the Kuśāns.

(4) An inspection of all the rock-inscriptions of Kanishka makes it clear that number 3 has been the smallest number connected with his name<sup>42</sup>; and sixty is the largest number connected with his name<sup>43</sup>. This shows that Kanishka was at least on the throne for 57 years<sup>44</sup>. A glance at the dynastic list of the Kuśāns will show that no king of that dynasty ruled for more than 40 years. It is possible that Kanishka might have been appointed as a minor and with some one as the regent.

(5) If we study the inscriptions in which the names of Kuśāna kings are mentioned, we find a different story about their order of succession and chronology. The time of Huviṣka<sup>45</sup> is included in the 57 years stated for Kanishka in No. 4. Again Huviṣka is also described as an "Emperor" in these inscriptions, showing that he was also a regular Kuśāna king and that he

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(42) O. H. I. pp. 131, see the inscription of Sārnāth.

(43) O. H. I. pp. 131, see the inscription of Mathurā.

(44) Nos. 41 and 60 are also found in the inscriptions of Kanishka, bearing the title "Emperor". Similarly nos. 33 to 60 are connected with the name of Huviṣka. (See f. n. nos. 45 and 46 below).

(45) O. H. I. pp. 139, about which, Mr. Vincent Smith states in 'Mathura and Its Antiquities':—"Huvishka's years overlap those of his predecessor from the year 33 to the year 60 of Kanishka's regnal era".

Read f. n. no. 46 below.

cannot be set aside as a mere general of Kaniṣka<sup>46</sup>. How to find a solution to the difficulty is a great puzzle.

(6) The dates of Vasiṣka and Kaniṣka are also found to overlap one another.<sup>47</sup> Vasiṣka, as we have already seen, is also described as "Emperor"<sup>48</sup>

A solution to all these difficulties would be to arrange the order of succession which is at the end of pp. 12. An article in a journal lent much colour to this view.<sup>49</sup>

We now turn to arranging the chronological list of the Kuśāns. We start with the year in which Kaniṣka I ascended the throne. We have shown above<sup>50</sup> that he came to the throne in 103 A. D.

We know that two kings preceded him. Kaḍaphis I, first established his power over a region on the other side of the Hindukuś.<sup>51</sup> He was the first Kuśāna chief.

**A chronological list of the Kuśāns** We have stated in Vol. III, that Goṇḍofārne left India for good in A. D. 45, in order to occupy the Persian throne, which had fallen vacant at the time<sup>52</sup>. Hence up to 45 A. D. Goṇḍofārne was

(46) See the inscription of Varadak. no. 51 is stated there; no. 60 is stated in the inscription of Mathurā.

Cf. f. n. nos. 44 and 45 above.

(47) Cf. f. n. no. 48 below.

(48) Comparing the details given in:—(a) the inscription of Ārā referred to in no. I above; (b) no. 24 in the inscription of Isāpur; (c) no. 28 in the inscription of Sāñchī (though the name "Vazeška" is only half-mentioned there); and (d) no. 28 in the inscription of Mathurā, we find that all these dates are included in nos. 3 to 60 of Kaniṣka.

(49) Vide "Sudhā", a Hindi Journal, V. E. 1990, Mārgaśīrṣa number, "Mathurā kā Yagniya Stambha"; by Mr. Vāsudev Śaraṇ Agravāl, M. A., LL. B. I am not quite definite about the number of pages, as I came across a very soiled copy of the journal.

(50) Vide pp. 448, vol. III.

(51) Read the paragraph above, about the Āryan origin of the Hūns and Kuśāns.

(52) Vide his account in vol. III,

the master and ruler of the Punjab, Afganistan, and all the regions situated between Sürsen and Persia. Hence the power of the Kuṣāns was established over India, any time between 45 A. D. and 103 A. D.

Most historians agree that Kaḍaphis I ruled for 40 years and Kaḍaphis II ruled for 32 years. It often happens, however, that the view of the majority is not always the correct view, unless it is based on the evidence of coins and inscriptions<sup>53</sup>. The dates given above have no such foundation; though we accept them for the present. Some historians are of the opinion that there was an interval of ten years between the death of Kaḍaphis II and the accession of Kaniṣka I<sup>54</sup>. This means that Kaḍaphis must have established his power in India between 82 years and 103 A. D., the year in which Kaniṣka I came to the throne. So far as my information goes, however Kaḍaphis II was immediately succeeded by Kaniṣka I, and that there was no interval there. This theory is supported by the following facts: An idol of Kaḍaphis II, represented as sitting on a throne has been found out in a village named Māt which is 14 miles away from Mathura<sup>55</sup>, thus making it clear that that region was under his rule.<sup>56</sup> Again the idol of Kaniṣka and of Chaṣṭhaṇ<sup>57</sup> has been found out in the same region. This shows that Kaniṣka I

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(53) Scholars are unanimous about many points in the lives of Aśoka and Priyadarśin. As evidence based on coins and inscriptions, however, is wanting, we cannot be definite about those theories inspite of the unanimity among scholars. Hence, when such evidence is found out, these theories are disproved. (Vide vol. II, the account of the Maurya dynasty).

(54) See the dynastic list on pp. 11.

(55) It is proved that the power of Kaḍaphis II must have extended upto this region only. He may not have been able to conquer Mathura. Or, he may have died while carrying an invasion over Mathura. (Read f. n. no. 56 below; and his account given later on).

(56) It is also possible that the area of Mathura in those times must have been very large. Māt may have been a suburb of Mathura. This, however, is not very probable. Vide the account of Kaniṣka I.

(57) This proves that Chaṣṭhaṇ was connected with the Kuṣāns. Vide chap. III for his exact position with them.

was the immediate successor of Kaḍaphisis II, because there can be no possibility of an interval between the two kings,—of the kings of the same dynasty—ruling over the same region, as is shown by their idols, unless there was an interregnum<sup>58</sup> of foreign rule between the two. Now, no such interval of foreign rule seems to have followed the death of Kaḍaphisis. Had there been any, the author of Rājatarāṅgiṇi would certainly have mentioned it. In short, we come to the following conclusion regarding the dates of first two Kuśāna kings:—

(1) Kaḍaphisis I, 40 years A. D. 31 to A. D. 71<sup>59</sup>.

(2) Kaḍaphisis II, 32 years A. D. 71 to A. D. 103.

Now, we turn to the dates of the kings of the second group. In the inscriptions of Kanīṣka the following numbers are stated:—No. 3 in Sārnāth; no. 9 in Mathurā; no. 18 in Māṇikyāl; no. 41 in Ārā. As regards the dates of Vāsiṣka, we find no. 24 in Isāpur and no. 28 in Sāñchi(?) and no. 29 in Mathurā. The least no. for Vāsiṣka, being 24, and he being the immediate successor of Kanīṣka, and he having connected the title “Emperor” with his name in the inscriptions, we come to the conclusion that Vāsiṣka came to the throne in the 24th year of the Kuśāna era, which was started by Kanīṣka in the year in which he came to the throne. Hence Kanīṣka I must have ruled for 23 years, and no. 41 in the Ārā inscription referred to above, must be taken in connection with Kanīṣka II. Vāsiṣka must have ruled from 24 to 29, i. e. for six years<sup>60</sup>.

We now turn to the remaining kings. In the inscriptions of Huviṣka we find the following numbers:—No. 33 in Mathurā; no. 51 in Vardak; and no. 60 in Mathurā. Of these the last two are connected with the title “Emperor”, while the first has no such

(58) Vide pp. 345 of vol. III for similar events.

(59) J. I. H. Q. Vol. XII. Prof. Sten Konow, pp. 29:—“Kujula Kadphesis must have been a young man in A. D. 45. (N. B. He is of the opinion that he was born earlier than A. D. 15).

(60) A doubt is raised on account of one inscription; it does not seem, however, to be of much importance. Read f. n. no. 61 below.

title connected with it<sup>61</sup>. This shows that Huviṣka bore no title from 29 to 33 and that he bore the title "Emperor" at least from 33 to 51 to 60. We cannot say exactly when he assumed that title between 33 and 51. In connection with Kanīṣka the second, we find that the title "Emperor" is connected with his name in 41 in the Ārā inscription and 60 in the Mathurā inscription. This means that Kanīṣka II must have assumed the title "Emperor" at least in 40<sup>62</sup>. Thus Huviṣka ruled from 29 to 60 and was without a title from 29 to 40. Again Kanīṣka II ruled from 40 to 60 at least. We will show in his account that he ruled upto 95, because an inscription has been found out from Mathurā bearing no. 29 and the name of Vāsudev, the successor of Kanīṣka II. Again there are reasons to believe that this inscription was carved a short time after his accession to the throne. He may have ascended the throne in 93, and many scholars hold the opinion that he ruled for 38 years. Thus Kanīṣka II ruled from 40 to 93 = 53 years, and Vāsudev ruled from 93 to 131 = 38 years. Seven or eight kings succeeded Vāsudev, but we do not have any information about the durations of their reigns. It has been proved that the Guptas defeated the Kuṣāns and established their own empire over the same territory. The Gupta dynasty is proved to have begun to rule from A. D. 275 to A. D. 290, which gives us to understand that the Kuṣāna dynasty ended in about 280 A. D. (i. e. 177th year of the Kuṣāna era. The last seven or eight kings ruled for 46 years in the aggregate.

Below is given a proved chronological list of the Kuṣāna kings:

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(61) It is said that an inscription has been found out mentioning no. 29 with Huviṣka bearing the title "Emperor". This is not possible because a Mathura inscription no. 29 is distinctly connected with Vasiṣka bearing the title "Emperor".

(62) Upto this time, the whole territory was under the power of one ruler who called himself "Emperor". From hence, the territory was divided into two parts, under the powers of two different rulers. Huviṣka had very small territory under his power, while Kanīṣka II had a very large one. Hence Kanīṣka II also assumed the title "Emperor".

	A. D.	A. D.	Years	Kuśāna era	
(1) Kaḍaphisis I <sup>63</sup>	31 to	71 =	40	—	—
(2) Kaḍaphisis II	71 to	103 =	32	—	—
(3) Kaniška I	103 to	126 =	23	1 to	23
(4) Vāsiška	126 to	132 =	6	23 to	29
(5) Huviška					
without the title	132 to	143 =	11 <sup>64</sup>	29 to	40
Emperor <sup>65</sup>	143 to	163 =	20	40 to	60
(6) Kaniška II	132 to	143 =	11 <sup>66</sup>		
	143 to	196 =	53	40 to	93
(7) Vāsudev	196 to	234 =	38	93 to	131
(8-14) Seven kings	234 to	280 =	46	131 to	177
			249		

Thus the rule of the Kuśāna dynasty lasted for about 249 years. There were 14 kings in the line. During the years 40 to 60 two kings held the title "Emperor".

When emperor Priyadarśin visited Nepāl, he also invaded Tibet and conquered it. He had appointed his son as the ruler there. On his return journey, he conquered Khoḥān also and included it within the kingdom of his son. Then he conquered Kāśmir<sup>67</sup> and appointed his son Jālauk as the ruler there. All these things have

More details about  
Kuśāna race

(63) We have here stated that Kaḍaphisis I ruled for 40 years and Kaḍaphisis II ruled for 32 years. We can, however, interchange these numbers. The matter is discussed in details in the account of Kaḍaphisis II.

(64) Read f. n. no. 65 for details as to who was "Emperor" for these 11 years.

(65) Vide the account of Kaniška for his position during the rule of Huviška for 11 years.

(66) For an explanation of this, vide the account of Huviška. It is explained there, why from 143 to 163, two kings simultaneously held the title "Emperor", and why the author of Rājatarāṅgiṇi has mentioned the name of Juška separately.

(67) The author of Rājatarāṅgiṇi states that Kāśmir was inhabited by the Mlechchhas at this time. (Vol. I, verse 107, which is quoted in our vol. II, pp. 361). The translation is, "As the countries were overrun by the Mlechchhas etc." [N. B. A Mlechchha means a non-Āryan.]

been told in details in vol. II, where his account is given. Thus these regions had become the homes of Samvriji-Lichchhavi kṣatriyas. This was the first instance of the Āryans emigrating to foreign countries. One historian<sup>68</sup>, however, says:—"The connection of Asoka with the ancient Khotan kingdom, appears to have been close<sup>69</sup>. It is said that Aśoka had banished some nobles of Taxila to the north of the Himalayas as a punishment for their complicity in the wrongful blinding of Kunala. One of the nobles was elected king who reigned till he was defeated by a Chinese rival". No doubt the historian differs from our point of view. The extract is, however, quoted to shed some light on the time of Priyadarśin and on the Chinese rival<sup>70</sup>. We have proved in vol. II that by "Aśoka" in the above extract, the writer really means "Priyadarśin". It is possible that the Kuṇāl-incident may have been incorporated in order to provide some reason for Aśoka's son going there because Kuṇāl lost his eyes in Avantī of which he was the governor. Hence the persons who might have been guilty of complicity in the crime of Kuṇāl's blindness, must have belonged to Avantī, and not to Takṣillā\*. Again, no shred of historical evidence can be brought forward to prove that Kuṇāl ever visited either the Punjāb

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Sometimes the term "Yavan" is mixed with the term "Javan" and the confusion becomes worse confounded. Read vol. III, pp. 101, f. n. no. 1 in this connection, and also pp. 103 of the same volume. Hence by "Mlechchha" the author of Rājatarāṅgiṇī means "Yavanas". These Yavans (Greek) and Yonas (Bactrians) had different civilization from the Āryan one at that time. The people of Turkey (Central Asia) and of Khoṭān had civilization akin to the Āryan one. Hence the author of Rājatarāṅgiṇī has considered them to be Āryans. The Kuśāns, though they are considered foreigners in a way, were Āryans from the view-point of civilization, and followed a religion which had much of Āryan culture in it. (Chasthan was closely connected with them. We shall discuss it later on).

(68) H. H. pp. 530 by Mazmudar.

(69) Cf. f. n. no. 71 below.

(70) It may be possible that this Chinese chief might have defeated Dāmodar, the son of Jālauk or any descendant of Dāmodar. (F. n. no. 71 below)

\* I have now come across a reading where Takṣillā is said to have been another name for Avantī. [Vaijayanti (A Budha dictionary) pp. 156].

or Takṣillā. Hence the possibility of the people of Takṣillā migrating to Tibeṭ or Khoṭān is very remote. For our purposes, however, it is enough to state that some Āryan tribes migrated to Khoṭān<sup>71</sup> during the rule of Priyadarśin. Shortly after this hordes of U-ci people of the Chinese origin<sup>72</sup> also over-flooded Khoṭān, and began to establish and consolidate their power over Khoṭān and Tibeṭ. Hence Khoṭān became conglomeration of five different races:— (1) U-ci of China; (2) The natives of Khoṭān; (3) The Tuṣārs<sup>73</sup> who came from central Asia and to which Kaḍaphisis belonged; (4) The Lichchhavī kṣatriyas who had emigrated from India; (5) The Mlechchhas of Kāśmir<sup>74</sup> whom some have mistakenly called Javanas<sup>75</sup>. A Tuṣāra chief, by name Kaḍaphisis, united these five races and established his power over the whole region<sup>76</sup>. This makes it clear that most of the subjects of Kaḍaphisis were of Āryan origin. Indeed the Mlechchhas were the only non-Āryans<sup>77</sup>.

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(71) Cf. f. n. no. 69 above.

(72) Cf. f. n. no. 70 above. We have stated in vol. III, pp. 96 that the portion which was advancing eastwards was obstructed by sea on that side, and so turned westwards and came into contact with the races who had settled in Khoṭān. The U-cis seem to have originated from this contact.

(73) Pp. 10, f. n. no. 32. Read the extract quoted there from H. H. pp. 649.

(74) Jālauk had driven out all the Mlechchhas who had settled there. Some Mlechchhas had, however, settled in Bactriā, and later on some of them emigrated to Kāśmir.

(75) H. H. pp. 505:—"The word Javana (applied to Turks or Mahomedans) is often wrongly confounded by scholars with Yavan (the Greeks)". Vide vol. III, pp. 101, f. n. no. 1.

[N. B. The Yavanas can neither be called Turks nor Mahomedans, because Islām as a faith originated in A. D. 611.

In vol. II, pp. 62 and f. n. no. 54, I have suggested that there ruled a Jaina king even in Arabiā. Vide the account of Gardabhīla Vikramacaritra, pp. 390, f. n. no. 90. It was a suggestion which might have astonished many readers. Now all details about the Gardabhīla kings are known to the readers. It will also be proved that the Kuśāna kings were not only Āryans but Jains.]

(76) Vide vol. III, pp. 263.

(77) Read f. n. no. 75 and especially the note by me.



The remaining races hailed from areas which were situated in Jambūdwīp.

In a way, we can affirm that Kaḍaphisis I has not ruled over in any part in India. We have thought it proper to give some details about him because:—(1) He was the founder of the dynasty and (2) his coins are found in the Punjāb.

The Kuśāns as well as the Hūṇs, whose chiefs named Tormāṇ and Mihirkūl have become famous in history, came to India from the other side of the Himālayas. The Hūṇs being natives of hilly regions were white in complexion. The Kuśāns also hailed from cold, hilly regions, and were probably of a fair complexion. As scanty information is available about both the races it was commonly believed by scholars that they were two branches of the same family or that they were closely connected with each other. On further study of facts regarding them, we find that these two races had very little connection with each other. We have already given details about the main characteristics of the Hūṇ race in vol. III. We have now at our disposal the coins of Kuśāna chiefs also. These coins bear their portrait-heads. A scrutiny of these coins will convince us that the Kuśāns had little in common with the Hūṇs.

Who were, then, Kuśāns? We have said that a certain Kuśāna chief united five different races that dwelt in Khoṭān and established his power over them. It should be noted, however, that none of those five races bears the name Kuśān. Scholars have advanced no reason why that chief was called a Kuśān?

This question necessarily requires further investigation. An idol of Vem alias Kaḍaphisis II has been found out in Māt, a village near Mathurā. The following words are inscribed on it:—“Mahārāj Rājātirāj Devaputra Kuśān-putra Śāhīvem”. This means that Vem calls himself the son of Kuśān. This does not necessarily mean that he belonged to the Kuśāna race. We can deduce the meaning that his father's name was Kuśān, whom we recognize as Kaḍaphisis I. If it is definitely proved that his name was Kuśān, it would not be unreasonable to come to the conclusion that the

name of the dynasty originated from him, he being the founder of the dynasty. This makes it clear that Kuṣān is the name of an individual and of a dynasty, but not of a race, the name of which we may take to have been "Tuṣār" for the present. So many dynasties have derived their names from that of their founders. The Śiśunāga dynasty owes its name to its founder, king Śiśunāg, and so do the Nanda, the Gardabhila and many other dynasties. This theory is supported by Sir Cunningham<sup>78</sup>, who states that on the coins of Kaḍaphisis, there are the words "Kujul Kaḍaphisis". The term Kujul<sup>79</sup> is of Kharoṣṭhī origin, and the Greek equivalent to it is Kozolo, which means a Kṣatrap. Thus Kaḍaphisis was a Kṣatrap of some emperor. A glance at the account of Kaḍaphisis, given later on, will convince the reader of the truth of the theory. Probably the Kuṣāna chief was a general of some powerful Chinese emperor<sup>80</sup>.

Let us now turn to a study of his coins. We are not yet certain whether his power was established over the Punjāb or not. Of course, his coins are being found out there, but this cannot be a certainty of his having ruled over it, because his son who established his power over the Punjāb, may have put his father's coins into circulation<sup>81</sup>. Mr. Mazmudār, on the authority of the Purāṇas, comes to the conclusion that Kaḍaphisis I did not rule over any part of India. He says<sup>82</sup>:—"The Puranas mention 8 Greek rulers of India". This statement seems to have been made in connection with the time when the Mauryan empire fell and the Shungas established their power over Avanti. Hence the term "Greek" means all foreign rulers. The eight rulers in question may have been:—(1) Demetrius, the son of Euthidemos, who though he invaded India did not settle here like his son. (2) Menander;

(78) Vol. II, pp. 120, coin no. 85.

(79) I. H. Q. vol. XII, pp. 27.

(80) F.n. no. 68 above, "He was defeated by a Chinese rival".

(81) Read details about his coins (Vol. II, pp. 120, coin no. 85). It becomes clear from that, that his kingdom extended upto Kābul.

(82) H. H. pp. 552.

then five Indo-Pārthian chiefs, namely, (3) Moses; (4) Aziz (5) Azilizes; (6) Aziz II; (7) Goṇḍofārne; and (8) Vem Kaḍaphis who ruled in India for several years. His descendants did rule India, but as they adopted Indian names, they are not considered as foreigners. We may note that in the list of eight foreign kings given above, there is no mention of Kaḍaphis I. All these kings lead us to the conclusion that Kaḍaphis did not rule in India any time.

The rule of the Indo-Pārthian emperor Goṇḍofārne ended in 45-46 A. D. in India<sup>83</sup> (vide vol. III). Kaḍaphis I, on the other hand, came to the throne in 31 A. D. as we have already seen. His reign ended in 71 A. D. (pp. 17 above). Hence the possibility of Kaḍaphis I having ruled over India is very remote, because a foreigner like him could not have so soon established himself on the throne left vacant by Goṇḍofārne. Circumstances, on the contrary, point to the possibility of Goṇḍofārne having left India only after making proper arrangements for the protection of his Indian dominions and to his having defeated Kaḍaphis in an encounter. (Vol. III, pp. 263). The names of Kṣatrapas found out from Mathurā—the names which scholars think to be of Pārthian origin<sup>84</sup> seem to be those of the Kṣatrapas appointed by these Persian emperors. These names are three or four in number, and

(83) H. H. pp. 647:—He died about 60 A. D. This shows that he remained on the Persian throne for 15 years after he left India. For these fifteen years at least, his hold over his Indian dominions must have been firm. Vide vol. III, pp. 263, f. n. no. 65.

(84) C. A. I. (C. J. Brown, M. A., London, 1922). "The deposition of Pecores, successor of Gondopharnes to the Pahlva kingdom of Taxilla, must have taken place between the years A. D. 45 and 64, and was effected by Vima Kadphases, the second Kushan king". This extract makes it clear that it was Vīmā Kaḍaphis who achieved the conquest of the Punjāb and that after the departure of Goṇḍofārne, his governors managed his Indian dominions. These governors have been mistakenly believed to have been independent rulers by some scholars. The Bactrian chiefs, Demetrius and Menander had also appointed governors in various provinces. No doubt, some of them did try to establish independent power. (Vol. III for details).

hence the Kṣatras bearing these names must have ruled at least for 25 to 30 years in the aggregate. Hence we conclude that Kaḍaphis never set his foot in India.

So long as we do not get any conclusive piece of evidence to the contrary, we cannot accept Kaḍaphis I as the ruler of the Punjāb. For the present, therefore, we shall treat him as a foreign<sup>85</sup> prince.

We have stated in Vol. III, that after the death of Alexander the great, Seleucus Nicator and other Greek<sup>86</sup> chiefs usurped parts of his empire. The Yonas, a mixed branch of the Greeks, became masters of Bactriā.<sup>87</sup> When their power declined, some of the Bactrian territory was annexed by the Persian emperors to their kingdom, and Moses was appointed as the governor over that portion. The eastern part of Bactriā was invaded by a new race which had emigrated from eastern China. We do not know the name of the chief of this race. It is, however, probable, that a descendant of this chief, a hundred years later, appointed Kaḍaphis I as one of his governors. He established his power<sup>88</sup> over the five different races that dwelt in that region at that time. He also conquered Balkh and Bokhārā, and being a brave adventurer, annexed some portion of Afghanistan also. A historian says<sup>89</sup> about him:—"His empire extended from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus (?) and included the kingdoms of Bokhārā and Afghanistan. He died at the age of 80, after a vigorous reign."

He ruled for 32 years from 71 A. D. to 103 A. D. (pp. 17). Of these 32 years, for the first 10 or 11 years he ruled outside

(85) H. H. pp. 505:—"The Greeks were Aryan colonists of the Mediterranean islands, called the Ionians. The Hindu tradition makes them of Hindu origin, being the descendants of Turvasu, a rebellious son of Yayati. It is said that these Yavanas gradually marched towards the West. Greek Ionian and Hindu Yavan is the same word".

Cf. vol. III, pp. 236, where is given a comparison between the words of Greek and Persian origins.

(86) Read f. n. no. 85 above.

(87) For the distinction between Yona and Yavana, vide vol. II, the account of Priyadarśin. Vol. III, pp. 101 & seq.

(88) Pp. 21 above.

(89) H. H. pp. 650-651.

India. For the rest of time, he ruled in India and held the title "Emperor". Hence his account should have been included in the next chapter, which contains an account of Kuṣāna kings who ruled over India. His successor Kanishka, however, started the Kuṣāna era. So, a distinct period begins in the rule of the dynasty with the accession of Kanishka I. That is the reason, why the account of Kaḍaphisis II is given in this chapter.

Vem Kaḍaphisis was brave and adventurous like his father. He ruled for 32 years and died at the age of 80. A writer, however<sup>90</sup>, quotes Cunningham as follows:—"Cunningham gives 35 to 40 years' long" and victorious reign to this monarch." We have given below reasons why we differ from Sir Cunningham in this matter.

The Gardabhila king, Vikramacharitra (Vol. III, pp. 336) ruled for 40 years from A. D. 53 to 93. He had conquered all the provinces including Kāśmir, and had appointed Mantrigupta as the governor there. (Vol. III, pp. 389). This means that upto 93 A. D. Vem Kaḍaphisis must have remained outside India, either for 22 years after his accession to the throne, if we accept that his reign lasted for 32 years, or for 30 years, if we accept that his reign lasted for 40 years. We know that his father's kingdom extended upto Kābul. Hence, he also must have limited himself upto Kābul for a number of years after his accession. If we can find out, for how many years he thus confined himself within the limits of his father's kingdom, we might get a clue to the solution of the problem at hand. In this connection, a writer<sup>92</sup> says:—"It is stated in the inscription near the village named Khalatsa, which is in the vicinity of Ladakh, that emperor Vem Kadaphisis lived in the year 187." This means that at that time Vem Kaḍaphisis called himself Emperor<sup>93</sup>. The number of the year shows that he had not started his own era, but that he had adopted the era of some one, either an honoured

(90) H. H. pp. 652.

(91) Read f. n. no. 63 above.

(92) Read "Sudhā" a journal published in northern India. V. E. 1990, Mathurā number, pp. 5. The article is written by Mr. Vāsudev Śaraṇ Agrawal, M. A., LL.B. "Mathurā kā Yagniya Stāmbha".

(93) Vol. II, coin no. 86. There also we find him holding the title "Emperor".

ancestor or a greater king, under whose vassalage he must have been<sup>94</sup>. Now the number does not seem to refer to any honoured ancestor in the dynasty, because it was his father who started the dynasty, not more than 60 to 70 years ago. Hence the only conclusion to which we can come is, that the number must have belonged to the era of a ruler under whose tutelage Kaḍaphisis II was. We have already stated above, that his father had established his power over the five races in a territory, which was a portion of the dwindling Bactrian empire, a portion of which was annexed by the Persian emperor, who had appointed Moses as governor over it. The eastern portion of the same empire was conquered by a general of Chinese origin. All these events took place in about B. C. 110 to 115 ( Vol. III, pp. 314 ). If we add 187 to this year, we come to A. D. 77 in which year, in all probability, Vem Kaḍaphisis II was on the throne in India. This means, that if we accept the 40 year theory, he got the region under his power in the 14th year of his reign, and that if we accept the 32 year theory, he got the region under his power in the 6th year of his reign. On the other hand, it is stated in the Oxford History of India, pp. 146 that during the 9th year of his reign he requested the Chinese emperor to marry his daughter with him. Probably the Chinese emperor took offence at the request, which he took as insulting because it came from a man whose father and who himself were under tutelage, and challenged him to war.<sup>95</sup> The Chinese general inflicted a severe defeat on Kaḍaphisis, who lost nearly 70000 men in the battle<sup>96</sup>. From that time Kaḍaphisis never dared to lift his head against China. He had also to cede his foreign territories like Khoṭān. We should note here that this war with China took place in the 9th year of his reign. But when we find him using the very Chinese era

(94) Scholars have given this number an altogether different interpretation. In the same way no. 78 in a Takṣillā inscription which really belongs to Kṣatrap Pātik, has been believed by them to have belonged to Moses and thus an entirely false interpretation is put on the event. Vol. III, pp. 187.

(95) Cf. f. n. no. 96 below.

(96) Bhā. Sam. Itihās, pp. 231. "He lost 70000 men". H. H. pp. 651.

in the inscription referred to above, we have to come to the conclusion that his relations with the Chinese emperor were all right, upto the year of that inscription. Hence, the date of the inscription must have been prior to the date of his war against the Chinese emperor. This leads us to the conclusion that the inscription must have been prepared during the 6th year of his reign and not during the 14th, which proves that he must have ascended the throne in 71 A. D. and must have ruled for 32 years. (pp. 19, f. n. 63).

The details given above, show that he had conquered a vast territory by his own valour and being proud of his achievements, he had the effrontery to request his suzerain to allow him to marry his daughter<sup>97</sup>. From that time onwards he directed his attention to consolidating his power in India.

After his war with China, he seems to have spent his time in comparative ease and quiet. During these years of respite, he gradually brought the Punjab and Kāśmir under his power. Sir John Marshal<sup>98</sup> holds the opinion that the Kuśāns obtained Taxillā in 60. Prof. Stein Konow<sup>99</sup>, on the other hand, says, "Sir-kap<sup>100</sup> (the capital of Khaharatas, Saka and Parthian rulers of Taxilla pp. 2) was sacked by Kushans about 70." These two extracts give us to understand that Taxillā was probably conquered in 60 A. D. and sacked in 70<sup>101</sup>. This number 70 represents the Śaka era which is believed to have been started in 78 A. D., which was then current in northern India and which we shall later call the Kuśāna era. We shall, however, prove later on, that this era was started in 103 A. D. Hence Taxillā must have been sacked in 70+25=95 A. D. We have already shown that Mantrigupta, the governor appointed by the Gardabhila king over Kāśmir, ruled in the province upto 93 A. D. Evidently, at the end of the rule of Mantrigupta in 93 A. D., Vem Kaḍaphisis invaded India and

(97) No doubt the Emperor was very angry at the effrontery.

(98) E. H. I. Smith, *edi.* 4th, pp. 272, f. n. there.

(99) J. I. H. Q. vol. XII, pp. 32.

(100) J. I. H. Q. vol. XII, pp. 2.

(101) We have given quite a different account of the destruction of Takṣillā,

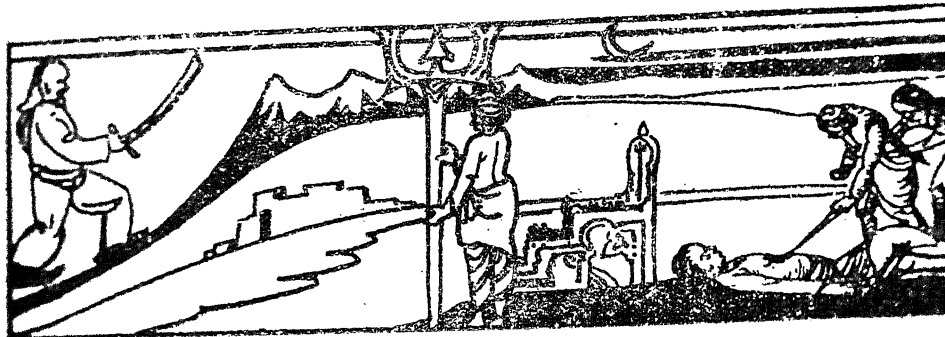
conquered the Punjab and Kāśmir. Then he tried to extend his kingdom step by step, and found his progress smooth, because the two successors of Vikramacharitra were very weak. It is said about him.<sup>102</sup>:—"Kadaphisis next attacked India. All north-west India, as far as Benares (except perhaps Sind) passed to him." It is doubtful whether he came as far as Benāres. Possibly his territory extended upto Mathura, fourteen miles away from which in a village near Māt, an idol of his, has been excavated. Probably he did not attack Mathura proper also<sup>103</sup>. Had he done so, some idol or other relic of his would have been found there too. Again, the Kuśāna era was begun during the reign of his successor. This probably means that it was his successor, who became the master of Mathurā. It might be argued that Māt may have been a suburb of Mathurā, in which case it must be admitted that he had conquered Mathurā<sup>104</sup>. It may also be said that an idol of his might have been set up at Māt, because his death must have taken place there. His defeat by the Chinese emperor might have caused him to drop all idea of starting an era—if indeed, any such idea he had. Any way, it is quite certain that the Kuśāna era was not started during his time. It may be argued that the era was started during his reign, if we take it for granted that he had conquered Mathurā. All circumstances, however, point to the conclusion that the era was started by his successor and its dating began with the year in which he ascended the throne. Why did not Kanishka, it may well be asked, not begin the dating of the era, from the year in which his father ascended the throne? In answer to this may be pointed out the definite fact, that the era was not started during the reign of Kaḍaphisis II, who had not advanced upto Mathurā, not to talk of Benares.

(102) H. H. pp. 652.

(103) Avantī was the centre of attraction in central India. Similarly Mathurā was the centre of attraction in northern India. That was the reason why foreign invaders like Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ called themselves kings and started their eras only after achieving the conquest of Avantī. Of course, they dated the eras with year in which founders of their dynasties ascended the throne.

(104) This makes it clear that Māt was not a suburb of Mathurā but separate village.





## Chapter II

### The Kuṣāṇa Dynasty (Contd.)

**Synopsis:**—(1) *Kanishka I*—he was the first in the Kuṣāṇa dynasty to assume the title “King”, causes for this—His relations with Vem—His conquests and the extent of his territory—His policy, family and life—His religion and some details of his life in relation to it—Quotations from scholars about the spread of Buddhism—Eight noteworthy points about the Kuṣāṇs—Three of them discussed in this chapter and the rest elsewhere—Distinction between Āryans and non-Āryans in reference to Kuṣāṇs.

(2) *Vajeska, Ješka, Juška*—An account of his life.

(3) *Huviška, Huška*—Some difficulties in connection with him and their solutions—His life and his relations with his family.

(4) *Kanishka II*—A description of social and religious events that took place in his reign—His name and his life—A comparative study of the two Kanishkas.

(5) *Vāsudev I*—Religious revolution during his time.

(6-13) The end of the dynasty—Causes of its downfall.

## (1) KANIṢKA I

Kaniṣka was the first Kuṣāna ruler to establish power in India and to occupy the Indian throne as such. He succeeded Vem Kaḍaphisis. What was the relation between them? Secondly, did he succeed Vem immediately after the latter's death, or did any time pass between the death of Vem and the succession of Kaniṣka? These are the two questions we want to discuss. With regard to the second question we have shown (pp. 16, last line) that the succession took place immediately.

Let us then turn to the first question. The coins of Kaniṣka show that he had assumed the title "King". We may note here that, both Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ (vide their accounts) did not assume the title King, so long as they did not conquer Avantī, the heart of India in those times. "Before the conquest of Avantī by them, they had rested content with their original titles like "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap". It is probable that the Kuṣāns followed the footsteps of their predecessors in this matter. Hence the coins of Vem Kaḍaphisis do not bear the title king, because he had not been able to conquer Mathurā, the centre of northern India<sup>1</sup>. The appending of the title "King" in the coins of Kaniṣka is a pointer to the fact that he must have conquered Mathurā, and that he must have started an era in commemoration of his victory. Historians have called this era the Śaka era.

Scholars differ as to the relations between Vem and Kaniṣka. Some hold the opinion that there was no blood-relationship between them and that there passed an interval of ten years before Kaniṣka succeeded Vem<sup>2</sup>. (Vide the previous chapter and read the dynastic list given there.) We have proved in the previous chapter that there was no such interval between the two, that one immediately

(1) F. n. no. 103 in the previous chapter.

(2) There are no convincing proofs for these contentions. In research work, a hypothesis has always to be tested in the light of all available evidence. The world goes the way it is led. Any scholar of established repute propounding theory, which has no evidence to support, is always treated with confidence.

succeeded the other. I incline to the belief that the relation between them must have been that of father and son, because:—(1) one immediately succeeded the other; (2) He waged a successful war against the Chinese emperor, as if in order to take revenge on him for the insulting defeat that he had inflicted on his predecessor. This undoubtedly points to blood-relationship—and that too, a close one—between them. (3) If we accept the theory that there was an interval between the reigns of these kings, their seats of capital must have been different. As a matter of fact however, one had come as far as Māt, and the other right in Mathurā,—places which are very near one another. It is argued that there was an interval between the reigns of the two on the ground of the time of the conquest of Kāśmir. This, however, does not prove that there was no blood-relationship between them. And all agree on the point that both belonged to the same race. Hence they must have been father and son.

We have stated that his reign lasted for 23 years, from 103 A. D. to 126 A. D. It seems that he devoted all these years to conquering new countries<sup>3</sup>. He conquered the whole of western India including Sind. In this connection, it is said by the author<sup>4</sup> of the "Cambridge History of India". The Sūe Vihara of the 11th year of Kaniska proves that the suzerainty of the Kushans extended to the country of the lower Indus at this date". The author of Hindu History says:—"His dominions include Kabul, Kashmir, Muttra and Magadh<sup>5</sup> (?). Practically he was the Lord Paramount in north India". It seems that after achieving these marvellous conquests,

Any theory coming from him is hailed as gospel truth. While, an adventurer in the realm of history is always discredited, however sound may be the reasons and pieces of evidence set forth by him in support of a theory; people always look askance at him and try to cry him down. (For details vide the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ).

(3) F. n. no. 12 further.

(4) Vide vol. I. pp. 703.

(5) I have not come across any piece of evidence confirming his conquest of Magadh. Hence the mark of interrogation.

he decided to wipe out the blot on the reputation of his dynasty—a blot that was inflicted by the Chinese emperor. He first consolidated his power in Kāśmir and founded there Kanīṣkapur after his name. Then he seems to have passed not through the Khaiber Pass thus avoiding the circuitous path round the Hindukuś, and to have directly reached Tibeṭ and Khoṭān. Then he conquered one after the other provinces which were under the power of the Chinese generals. Not only did he reconquer all the territory, lost by his father Vem, but he also took with him to Mathurā the second son of the Chinese emperor as hostage for his good conduct. In this connection it is stated in *The Oxford History of India*<sup>6</sup>:—“He avenged his predecessor’s defeat in Chinese Turkestan”. It is also stated by the author of “*Bhārat kā Saṁkṣipta Itihās*”, He<sup>7</sup> conquered the provinces of Yārkaṇḍ and Khoṭān.....and took with him the son of Chinese emperor as hostage at his court”. He seems to have advanced still further and to have conquered the province of Mongoliā from the Chinese emperor. Hence, it is stated by the author of *Hindu History*<sup>8</sup>:—“The name and fame of Kanishka are cherished by tradition, not only in India, but also in Tibet, China and Mongolia”. His avarice and ambition however knew no bounds. He marched his armies further and further, till they were tired and exhausted and till he was in all probability murdered like Alexander the great<sup>9</sup>. It is stated in *The Oxford History of India*<sup>10</sup>:—“Tradition<sup>11</sup> affirms that he must have been smothered while on his last northern campaign by officers who had grown weary of exile beyond the passes”.

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(6) Ibid. pp. 103.

(7) Ibid. pp. 232.

(8) Ibid. pp. 653.

(9) Research work is about to throw entirely new light on the life of Alexander.

(10) Ibid. pp. 130.

(11) Many scholars seem inclined to believe this tradition to be true. It is, however, possible and none of them might have investigated into the authenticity of that tradition. Sometimes a tradition is historically proved to be true.

These extracts make it clear that Kanishka did not die a natural death, but was murdered by some officer of the army, either on the borders of China or in the intervening region. He died thus in some foreign land, far from the seat of his capital. Had he directed his attention towards the conquest of Avantī and other parts of India instead of wasting his energies in foreign countries, he would have been indeed more successful and would have ranked in power and fame with the emperors of Magadh. In those times, a small chief like Chaṣṭhaṇ could distinguish himself if he was valourous and determined.

We know that his territory outside India was greater than his territory inside India. As he devoted most of his time to

conquests of new countries, he had little time to look into the details of internal administration.

His policy, family  
and life

He followed, however the tradition of the previous emperors of Magadh or of other emperors, divided his kingdom into several provinces and appointed governors over them. In this, he was helped by his two sons, of which Vāsiṣka, or Vazeṣka or Zeṣka or Juṣka was the elder and Huviṣka or Huṣka was the younger. Vāsiṣka was entrusted with all the affairs of internal administration while he himself was away from India. Huviṣka was appointed as governor of Kāśmir and the surrounding regions. Over Rājputānā, (then called Madhya deś with Madhyamikā as its capital), was appointed a general by name Ghṣamotik, who having died during the lifetime of Kanishka, his son Chaṣṭhaṇ was entrusted with the same post. Of these three appointments, the first two are supported by the writer of the Oxford History of India. As regards the third, details are given in the next chapter. The writer of the Oxford History<sup>12</sup> says:—"Kanishka spent most of his life, waging successful wars; whilst absent on his distant expeditions, he left the government of the Indian Province in the hands<sup>13</sup> first of Vasiṣka<sup>14</sup>, apparently his elder,

(12) Oxford His. of India, pp. 103.

(13) This is a result of the lack of full knowledge about his dominions. (Read f. n. nos. 14 and 15 below). Or the book is concerned with India only.

and then of Huviṣka<sup>15</sup> apparently his younger son."

Thus, it seems that Kanīṣka spent his life in conquests and expeditions.

We now turn to some details about his family. We cannot definitely say how long he lived. We can however come to a tentative conclusion after a consideration of the following facts. In the first place, his reign lasted for 23 years. Secondly, he died far away from the seat of his capital. Thirdly, both his father Vem, and his grandfather Kaḍaphisī died after becoming 80 years old. This means that by the time of his father's death, Kanīṣka's age must have been 40 to 45 years. Adding 23 years of reign to this, we gather that he must have died at the age of 63 to 68. Had he not been murdered, he must have probably lived long. His constant expeditions, on the other hand, bespeak a younger age. But that looking to the constitutions, climate and other factors of those times, we might come to the conclusion that, people in those times aged not so rapidly as we do. Hence, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he died at the age of about 70.

He had two sons. Vazeṣka the elder was probably 40 to 45 at the time of his death, while Huviṣka was 35 to 40.

People of our time find it difficult to grasp and admit that in ancient times kings, appreciating the value of spiritual life,

His devotion  
to religion

always followed some particular religion very devoutly. Whenever we want to find out which religion a particular king followed, we ought to look to his coins, inscriptions and other such materials in which he must have left some signs and symbols of his religion. We have already referred in the preceding chapter to all the inscriptions and coins concerning Kuṣāna chiefs. The main inscriptions are at Mathurā, Sāñchī, Arā, Isāpur, Sārṇāth and Varḍak. Their coins are fully described in Vol. II and III.

(14) It is not yet commonly recognized that Vajeṣka got the throne first, and that Huviṣka was a governor at the same time.

(15) Read f. n. no. 14 above.

A glance at the accounts of Vasiṣka and Huviṣka will show that the terms "former" and "latter" are of no use.

Some pieces of sculpture have also been found out in this connection. Many idols, slabs; inscriptions and pillars have been excavated near the hill of Kankālītīlā, one of many hillocks near Mathurā. Details about this are given in "Mathura and Its Antiquities", published by the Government of India, at Allāhābād. If we compare these idols and pillars and inscriptions with those at Sāñchī, we will notice much resemblance between the two. This clearly means that they both belong to the same religion. The idols and pillars of Bhārḥūt<sup>16</sup> also are found to have much resemblance with those at the above two places. We will, however, not take it into consideration here because no mention is made in them of Kuśāna<sup>17</sup> chiefs.

The inscriptions in question bear very clearly the names of kings thus leaving no doubt of their identity. The word "Devaputra" strongly indicates their connection with the Āryan civilization. This means that Kuśāns were no foreigners. They were Āryans. The theory that Vāsudev<sup>18</sup> was the first to adopt Āryan mode of life is quite ill-founded. The reason, why scholars came to the conclusion that Vāsudev was the first Kuśāna chief to adopt Āryan mode of life, was that the signs on his coins are different from the signs on the coins of previous Kuśāna chiefs. This, however, is in no way a conclusive piece of evidence. This change signifies that Vāsudev followed a religion which his predecessors did not follow. Vāsudev was a follower of Hinduism, while his predecessors followed either Jainism or Buddhism.

Let us find out which religion was followed by the predecessors of Vāsudev. Kaḍaphis I, as we know, never set his foot in India. Kaḍaphis II was the first Kuśāna chief to come to, and stay in India. What religion did he and his descendants upto Kanīṣka follow? Many scholars are confirmed in the belief that

(16) Read "The Bharhuta Stupa" by Cunningham. Some details about the similarity between the relics at these two places are given in vol. I.

(17) At the time of the erection of the Bhārḥūta relics, Kuśānas had not come to India.

(18) Details about him are given later on.

the stūpas at Śāñchī are connected with Buddhism<sup>19</sup>. This argues that the stūpas and other relics at Mathurā which are quite similar to those at Śāñchī, must also be connected with Buddhism. Hence they believed that the Kuśāna chiefs upto Kaniṣka were followers of Buddhism. Mr. Smith in "Mathura and Its Antiquities" says<sup>20</sup>:—"Six bases of Buddha statues<sup>21</sup>, inscribed and dated in the regular years of the Indo-Scythian rulers, Huvishka, Kanishka and Vasudeva". This means that these chiefs were followers of Buddhism. In the introduction to the same book, however, he says:—"The objects found by Cunningham with the exception of ten-armed Brahmanical<sup>22</sup> figure are all Jain<sup>23</sup>." This means that both Mr. Smith and Mr. Cunningham hold the opinion that the idols found near Mathurā are connected with Jainism, though they differ slightly in their views. Both are great authorities on ancient history. A Bengali writer says<sup>24</sup>:—"He<sup>25</sup> also had a great liking for a curious mixture of Greek, Indian and Persian gods. The types of his coins had Hercules, Sarapies, Skanda, Viṣṇu, Pharro and others, but no figure and name of Buddha". This means that his coins present a variety of gods and goddesses<sup>26</sup>, and that there

(19) Bhārṇhūta is also reduced to the same condition. Cf. f. n. nos. 16 and 17 above.

(20) Ibid. pp. 3.

(21) "Buddha Statues"—this term does not necessarily mean that the statues did belong to Buddhism. "Buddha" means one who knows or "a learned man". (Compare f. n. nos. 22 and 23 below).

(22) Does a ten-handed figure necessarily belong to Brahminism.

(23) It clearly means that there was no Buddhist image.

(24) H. H. pp. 656.

(25) These words are written in connection with Huviṣka. Probably when the author wrote these words, whether Kaniṣka preceded Huviṣka or vice versa must not have been certain. As a matter of fact, Huviṣka was the successor of Kaniṣka I and predecessor of Kaniṣka II.

(26) The reasons for such happening may be as follows:—(1) As they were not definitely settled in a particular civilization, they must have adopted various gods and goddesses. (2) Or they must have done so in order to represent the religious peculiarities of the five races over whom the Kuśāna chief established his rule.



is no Buddhist sign on them. The same writer says later on:—  
 “Like Kanishka, he was a liberal patron to Buddhist religious endowments. Probably he was a growing Hindu”. Surely this means that he was a liberal-minded ruler with tolerant views on religion. He also states that the king was inclining<sup>27</sup> towards Brahminism. The following extract from the same writer gives us his views on the condition of Buddhism in those times, though I do not happen to agree with all the views stated therein.

He<sup>28</sup> says:—“No Buddhist period in the Indian History. Some scholars have made much of Buddhism in India. They think that at one time (say from B. C. 242 to 500 A. D.) Buddhism had eclipsed Hinduism<sup>29</sup>; that a great majority of the people had embraced Buddhism, and that, almost everything was Buddhistic in style etc. It does not appear that there is much truth in it. Buddhism was no doubt prevalent in India. In other parts of India, it was sporadic. The large province of Assam was entirely free of Buddhism. The provinces about Hardwar, Canouj, Allahbad, Benares had little Buddhism. Carnal, Jaipur, Panchal etc. furnish no proof as to the prevalence of Buddhism there. Even in Magadh and Bengal<sup>30</sup>, Hinduism flourished side by side with Buddhism. The monks were regular Buddhists, but the laymen were mostly Buddhistic Hindus, i. e. men who followed some Buddhist doctrines on the Hindu basis, having castes and Hindu manners. This is why they could be won to Hinduism easily. There are some native Christians in south India, who still follow the caste system and some other ancestral Hindu manners etc. The Buddhist pilgrims

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After some years' stay in India their civilization became settled. This is evident from their coins.

(27) These words suggest that the seed of the change of faith by Vāsudev, was laid during the time of Huviṣka, his immediate predecessor.

(28) H. H. pp. 702-703.

(29) As a matter of fact, Jainism was preponderant in India for a number of centuries.

(30) This indicated a minute study of the history of various Indian provinces by the author.

of Ceylon and China of the 4th<sup>31</sup> century A. D. did not notice Buddhism flourish in India". The author has quoted the following passage from The Historians' History of the World in support of his views:—"The Editor of the Historians' History of the World is right in observing that owing to its abstractness and rivalry of Hindus, Buddhism was a failure<sup>32</sup> in India<sup>33</sup>; in modified form<sup>34</sup> it has, however, prevailed in other parts of India".

The authors quoted above wrote some fifty years ago. Later researches have proved that the excavated idols and other relics at Kankālītīlā belong to Jainism. No doubt, the Sāñchī relics belong to Jainism, because both of them are identical in everything. We have proved at great length and with the evidence of coins and inscriptions, that most of the relics which were taken to be connected with Buddhism, belong as a matter of fact to Jainism. The Kuśāna inscriptions bear specific mention of years, months, dates and seasons; no Buddhist inscriptions, on the other hand, contain anything of that nature, except the year. This shows clearly that the Kuśāns were not Buddhists. They were Jains as truly as the Śakas and the Kṣaharāṭas were Jains. Even Chaṣṭhaṇ, as a study of his coins and inscription convincingly shows, was a Jain.

Some points in connection with Kanīṣka's life deserve notice here. Some of them have no direct bearing upon his life. Such are discussed in the next chapter.

(A) To be discussed in this chapter.

(1) Do Chaṣṭhaṇ and Kuśāns belong to the same race ?

(2) What about the trio of Huṣka, Juṣka and Kanīṣka ?

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(31) This proof is very decisive against Buddhist influence in India from B. C. 270 to 4th century A. D.

(32) Cf. an extract from the presidential lecture of Mr. Hornele, (vol. I, pp. 42) under the auspices of The Bengal Royal Asiatic Society. Cf. f. n. no. 34 below.

(33) It may have been successful in Ceylon.

(34) "Modified form" We have proved in vol. II, chap. I, that Buddha was at first a Jaina monk, and remained so for seven years. Cf. this with the phrase noted above.

- (3) Some details about "Āryan" and "Non-Āryan", and about "Yavana", "Mlechchha" and "Turk".
- (B) To be discussed in the account of Kanīṣka II.
- (4) Comparison between Kanīṣka I & II.
- (C). To be discussed in the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ or in the third chapter.
- (5) Why do we find the statue of Chaṣṭhaṇ side by side with that of Kanīṣka?
- (6) The beginnings of the Kuśāna and Chaṣṭhaṇa eras.
- (7) Distinctions between the races of Chaṣṭhaṇ and Nahapāṇ. (Some are given in vol. III, pp. 164 & seq.).
- (8) Some details about the terms "Kṣatrap" and "Mahā-kṣatrap". (Some details are already given in vol. III, pp. 117 & seq.).

We take these points one by one:—

In the idol that has been excavated<sup>35</sup> in Māt near Mathurā, Kanīṣka is found standing side by side with Chaṣṭhaṇ. This

indicates some connection between them. The appendage of the term "Kṣatrapa" to the name of Chaṣṭhaṇ shows that he was a vassal of the other. Scholars have inclined to this belief and

hence, whenever they found any number mentioned along with any Chaṣṭhaṇa king, they have taken that number to have belonged to Kuśāna era, which they believe to have been started in 78 A. D. They have, however, made no effort to show that both belonged to the same race. The relation of suzerainty and vassalage may exist between two kings though they do not belong to the same race<sup>36</sup>. Let us try to find out whether any such relation existed between them<sup>37</sup>

(35) Details are given later on in chap. III.

(36) It has been proved that though Kṣatrap Bhūmak belonged to the Kṣaharāṭa race, yet he acted as the governor of Bactrian chiefs, Demetrius and Menander (Vol. III, vide their accounts).

(37) Man is after all a creature of environment. The founder of the dynasty having always resided outside India, was not confirmed in any civilization because no definite civilization prevailed in those parts. His successors adopted a definite culture because they came into touch with one.

We have proved that though the founder of the Kuśāna dynasty did not definitely belong to any religion, his successors who came and settled in India, became followers of Jainism. The relics excavated from the mound of Kankālītīlā near Mathurā indicate that they were devoted to Jainism<sup>38</sup>. It can be proved about Chaṣṭhaṇas also, that they were Jains. Their coins bear Jaina symbols on the reverse side (Vide vol. II, chapters on coins). Their inscriptions found near Mt. Girnār at Junāgaḍh, have not been definitely interpreted. Mr. Rapson, however, inclines to the view that they are concerned with Jainism<sup>39</sup>. Moreover, an inscription by Juṣka has been found erected at Sāñchī (ante. pp. 15, f. n. 48) over which he had no political power<sup>40</sup>. In short both the Chaṣṭhaṇas and Kuśāns were staunch followers of Jainism. This, however, does not necessarily mean that they belonged to the same race. When we examine their coins, we find there are many points of difference there. The titles assumed by them strengthen the view that they belonged to different races. "Emperor" and "Kujul" were the titles adopted by the Kuśāns while "Kṣatrap", "Mahākṣatrap", "Rāja", "Svāmi" etc. were adopted by Chaṣṭhaṇas. These things bespeak different social customs. The names of Chaṣṭhaṇa kings generally end in "Dāman", while the Kuśāna names end in "Ška" or "Uška". Later on they seem to have adopted purely Hindu names like "Vāsudev". Chaṣṭhaṇas came to India from the region of Tāskand and Samarkand in central Asia; the Kuśāns hailed from Khoṭān and Pāmīr. It is however true, in spite of these differences that Chaṣṭhaṇas were one of the five races over which the Kuśāna chief established his power. That was the reason why probably Ghṣamotik, the father of Chaṣṭhaṇ was appointed as a Kṣatrap by the Kuśāna chief.

(38) For details read "Mathura and its Antiquities".

The Sāñchī inscription assures us that the region about it was connected with the Kuśāns. The close relation between Sāñchī and Jainism has already been proved. Hence the Kuśāns must have been Jains. Cf. f. n. no. 39 below.

(39) Details are given in the account of Chaṣṭhaṇas. Vide also vol. III, pp. 323.

(40) The existence of a pillar inscription in a region not under their power, proves that the place has connection with the religion of the Kuśāns. (Cf. f. n. nos. 29 & 39). We should look into the details of this inscription.

There is no doubt that there were kings of this name. We were upto now not certain of the order of their succession. We have already tried in the previous chapter to arrange this order. By permutation and combination, these three names can be arranged in six different ways. Full details about their succession will be

(2) The trio of  
Huṣka, Juṣka  
and Kaniṣka

given in their respective accounts. Briefly stated:—Kaniṣka I, the brave and valorous king, was succeeded by his eldest son Vazeṣka, or Juṣka<sup>41</sup>, who having died at an early age was succeeded by his son, who assumed the name Kaniṣka II. He being a minor, the affairs of administration were conducted by his uncle Huṣka<sup>42</sup>.

Let us now refer to the words of the author of Rājatarangīṇi. They are:—<sup>43</sup>—"The continued existence of the three places Kaniskapur, Hushkapur and Jushkapur." These names indicate that there were kings of that name. All the three cities being situated in Kaśmir, we conclude that they were rulers of that country. Evidently, the quotation refers to the Kuṣāna dynasty bearing the same name. Of this trio, everything is clear about Huṣka and Juṣka. But which of the two Kaniṣkas is meant here?

In the chronological list given by us in the preceding chapter, we have shown that Kaniṣka I was a predecessor of Huṣka and Juṣka, and that Kaniṣka II was their successor. This will make it easy for us to find out the order of their succession, if the names given in the quotation are in a chronological order. The author of Rājatarangīṇi must have arranged them in such order only. Evidently Kaniṣka I was the founder of Kaniṣkapur, as the name of that city is stated first.<sup>44</sup>

Let us find out the approximate time when these cities were founded. We have shown that Kaniṣka I, ruled from 103 to 126 A.D.,

(41) Vide below where an account is given of Vazeṣka

(42) This confusion is due to political conditions of Kāśmir and Mathurā in those times. Read the account of Kaniṣka II given later on.

(43) Vol. II, pp. 361. The extract has been quoted from Rājatarangīṇi Sarga I, pp. 76, para. 74.

(44) Read the statement on pp. 33 above.

and that Juṣka or Vazeṣka ruled from 126 to 132 A. D. Kanīṣka spent only the first twelve years of his reign in India, and the remaining in conquering foreign countries. He turned his eyes to Kāśmir only after this. Hence, he must have founded the city sometime after 115 A. D. Juṣkapur must have been founded anytime between 126 to 132 A. D. Huviṣka stayed in Kāśmir twice or thrice. During the rule of Kanīṣka I, he stayed there from 115 to 126 A. D. During the reign of Kanīṣka II, he stayed there from 132 to 142 A. D. Later on, he established himself as the independent ruler of Kāśmir, and ruled for twenty years. In all probability he must have founded the city during his third period of stay, when he was independent. He may as well have founded the city during his earlier periods of stay. In short, Kanīṣkapur was founded between 115 to 126 A. D.; Huṣkapur between 120 to 126 A. D. and Juṣkapur between 126 to 132 A. D. Thus, all the three cities were founded within 17 years from 115 to 132 A. D. Or if the time of Huviṣkapur is extended upto 162, then it would be 47 years.

We have given full details about these terms in Vol. III. We have also given details about Indo-Scythians, Pārthians, Indo-Pārthians, Kṣaharāṭas, Greeks and Bactrians. We have also shown distinctions between Mlechchhas and Yavanas.

In Asia, there are two or three regions bearing the name Turkey. One in the extreme west, we may call Asian Turkey, the other comprising Khoṭān and the surrounding region, Chinese Turkey, and the region around the Oxus containing cities of Tāskand and Samarkand as Russian Turkey.<sup>45</sup> People residing in two of these Turkeys were Āryans and followed the Āryan culture during the time of the Kuṣāns. The third, namely, the Asian Turkey, though of the Āryan origin, came later on, under the influence of Greek culture. Thus the Greeks, the Bactrians and the Asian Turks were Non-Āryans. The Bactrians later on came into close touch with the Āryan civilization, but they were

(45) We have called this region "Asian Turkey" in vol. III. We now find that it is more appropriate to call it "Russian Turkey".

called Mlechchhas due to the difference in civilizations. We find in Rājtarangīni that Jālauk had defeated the Mlechchhas. These Mlechchhas were none other than Bactrians, a portion of whom came under the Kuśāns in about 100 A. D. with this difference that the later Bactrians had less of non-Āryan culture in them than the former.

This makes it clear that the terms Āryan and non-Āryan refer to civilizations and not to territories. The same people who might have been non-Āryans first, might have become Āryans later on.

We have to note that Chinese Turkey and Pāmīr were the homes of Kuśāns. These regions were inhabited by the U-ci-race and hence the Kuśāns had blood-relationship with them. The Caṣṭhanas, on the other hand, came from Russian Turkey. Both these people were Āryans. They were simple and generous. During their stay in India, they absorbed more and more of Jainism, Buddhism or Brahminism. The Kuśāns settled in north India, while the Caṣṭhaṇs settled in central India in Avantī. The Kuśāns succeeded the Indo-Pārthians and consequently inherited most of their culture<sup>46</sup>. The Caṣṭhaṇs succeeded the Gardabhils and so absorbed most of their mode of life. The Gardabhils were Jains and Jainism had a powerful hold on the Caṣṭhaṇs. The Kuśāns were not so powerfully influenced by Jainism. Caṣṭhaṇ, being a native of Russian Turkey, we find the signs of Mt. Mēru which was situated near his home, on his coins. We do not find such signs on the Kuśāna coins.

We should note here that in ancient times there were only three religions in India. They should better be termed "cultures". Of these, a study of statistics tells us, Jainism is found to be steadily declining. People find it hard to swallow the fact that the Turks, Arabians, Afgans and many other races of Asia, who are now all Muslims, were at first Jains. Why should there be any difficulty in believing this, when it is universally granted that the composers of Hindu sacred books also were natives of Afgānistān.

(46) Cf. ante f. n. no. 24. The extract is quoted from H. H. The variety of portraits in the coins is due to this reason.

Again, before the rise of Islām in the seventh century A. D., these people must have followed some other religion. We have shown in vol. II, (vide account of Priyadarśin) that Jainism spread its wings far and wide over Asia. We have proved in the account of the Gardabhīla king Vikramcharitra, that even in Arabia, Jainism was the prevalent religion right upto the 3rd century A. D.

## (2) VĀSIṢKA, VAZEṢKA, ZEṢKA, JUṢKA

Kaniṣka I was succeeded by his son Vazeṣka. In some inscriptions we find "Vāsiṣka" in place of Vazeṣka. Sometimes it was shortened to Zeṣka, which in its turn, became Juṣka in order to rhyme with Huṣka and Kaniṣka<sup>47</sup>.

We know that the first three Kuṣāna kings, Kaḍaphis I & Kanishka I enjoyed long life spreading over nearly 80 years.

Naturally the fourth king, was a youngster to

**Other details** 30 to 35. Naturally we expect that his reign must have lasted for a long time. But inscriptions tell us that his reign lasted for six years only. He must have died from an accident. His son, as we shall prove later on, was only three or four years old at that time.

As his reign lasted for a very short time, scholars were sceptical of the existence of any such king. One of them<sup>48</sup> has said, "Huviṣka was probably succeeded by one Vasishka whose name appears from the inscription, though not varified by a coin". The same writer says again<sup>49</sup>:—"He (Huviska) was succeeded by Juṣka about whom we know very little". Thus we see that Juṣka was another name of Vāsiṣka<sup>50</sup>

It has been proved that Kanishka had appointed Huviṣka, the governor of Kāśmir and Vazeṣka the governor of Mathurā. Of course, a separate dynasty was not founded by Huviṣka, though he was to all intents and purposes a free monarch. Had he done so, Vazeṣka's name would not have been mentioned by the author Rājataranginī, in the dynastic list.

(47) Read below f. n. no. 50.

(48) H. H. pp. 656.

(49) Ibid, pp. 658.

(50) F. n. no. 47 above.



His was an uneventful and short reign. His father for him a vast empire.

### (3) HUVIŠKA-HUŠKA

Many things about the Kuśāns are still unknown. We tried to dispel some darkness in the previous pages. The problem to be considered is, who came first, Huviška or Kanishka. We have stated that when Vazeška died, his son was only one or four years old. He was, no doubt, the rightful heir and his name should be stated after that of Vazeška.

The inscriptions, however, tell a different story.

(A) Three inscriptions bear the name of Huviška:—The first inscription bears no. 33, but no title is appended to his name. The Varḍak inscription bears no. 51 and the Mathurā inscription no. 60. Both have the title "Emperor" appended to his name.

(B) Two inscriptions bear the name of Kanishka:—

The Ārā inscription bears no. 45, and the Mathurā inscription no. 60. Both of them have the title "Emperor" appended to his name.

From this, it seems both of them called themselves "Emperor" from 41 to 60. It also seems that Huviška was the immediate successor of Vazeška. Some time between 33 and 41, they both began to style themselves "Emperors"<sup>51</sup>. This continued up to 60. From 29 to 41, we find the mention of Huviška.

Why should there have been no mention of Kanishka, if he was the rightful claimant to the throne after Vazeška's death? It is possible that during his minority, his uncle conducted the administration. The inscriptions of Huviška make it clear that he styled himself "Emperor" right from 40 to 60. It follows from this, that he acted as regent from 29 to 40, because we find from 41 onwards Kanishka also called himself "Emperor"<sup>52</sup>. These conclusions hold good so long as no earlier date is found for any one of them as "Emperor"<sup>53</sup>. Thus Kanishka remained

(51) For details read the previous page.

(52) From 29 to 40 i. e. 11 years. Cf. f. n. no. 51 above.

(53) This requires minute research. If an inscription is found with any date from 33 to 40, it would be very helpful.

for 11 years and came to the throne at the age of 14 or 15, the common age for majority in those times. We remember that Aśoka acted as the regent of Priyadarśin for 13 years and that these 13 years have been included in the period of his rule<sup>54</sup>.

What about both these persons styling themselves "Emperors" simultaneously for 20 years from 41 to 60? We know that while away from India on his conquest tour, Kanishka I had appointed Vazeṣka over Mathurā and Huviṣka over Kāśmir. We also know that he died while fighting in foreign countries. Hence we might conclude that:—

(1) The dynasty was divided into two branches, one over Mathurā, and the other over Kāśmir.

(2) Huviṣka accepted nominal obedience to Vazeṣka the successor in the main branch.

(3) Huviṣka acted as the regent of Kanishka II during his minority.

(4) If one of the branches is issueless the other succeeds over the whole territory.

Let us discuss the possibility of each of these conclusions. The very fact that both called themselves "Emperors" simultaneously means, that they ruled over separate territories and started two branches of the dynasty<sup>55</sup>. What was the reason of this and how long did this continue?

(1) Probably the arrangement made by Kanishka I was accepted as permanent<sup>56</sup>.

(2) This state of affairs continued in all probability upto 60, as no inscription bears witness to its further continuation. In this connection, a consideration of the respective places of their inscriptions would be of much help. The inscriptions of Kanishka II are all

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(54) The Purāṇas have similarly called Puṣyamitra Śuṅga king, though he never ascended the throne.

(55) Read f. n. no. 56 below.

(56) If this be proved, Vazeṣka-Juṣka cannot be included in the dynastic list of the Kāśmirian kings. But the mention of his name in the list by the author of Rājatarangīṇī, shows that Juṣka was considered as the overlord by him. (Cf. f. n. no. 42 and the account of Vazeṣka),

in the region around Mathurā, and both describe him as "Emperor". This makes it clear that he was an independent sovereign 40 to 60. In the case of Huviṣka, two of his inscriptions are from Mathurā, bearing numbers 33 and 60, of which the latter bears the title "Emperor". The place of the third inscription is Vardak which is thirty miles away from Kāśmir, and thus evidently in Kāśmir. In the year 33, Huviṣka was the regent of Kaniska and hence his inscription bears no title. The inscription of Vardak bears no. 51, the year in which he was the independent ruler of Kāśmir and so he may well have called himself "Emperor"<sup>57</sup>. How do we explain the appendage of that title to his name in the inscription of Mathurā, which bears no. 60? We may suppose that 60 was the last year of the rule of Huviṣka, and we have no information to the effect that his dynasty continued after him. In all probability, after the death of Huviṣka, Kaniska II came to Kāśmir and ascended the throne, thus combining both the branches.

We know that at the time of the death of Kaniska in the year 23, Vazeṣka was 40 years old and Huviṣka was 35. We have seen above that he died in 60, after a reign of 27 years. Huviṣka's age was 37 years, at the age of 72. During the last 27 years from 29 to 40, he acted as the regent of Kaniska. He had no son.

#### (4) KANIṢKA

When he attained majority, he ascended the throne of Mathurā. As a matter of fact, Huviṣka's name cannot be included in the dynastic list of the kings of Mathurā. It can legitimately be included in the list of the kings of Kāśmir. We are not sure whether it would be quite proper to enter the name of Vazeṣka or Kaniska in the dynastic list of Kāśmirian kings. So the chronological order is as follows:

(57) Vide Sudhā (ch. I, f. n. no. 49), pp. 6:—It is stated there that at this time Huviṣka also was the independent ruler over a kingdom. In the 51st year he became the master of Kābul also".

(58) It is believed (ch. I, para next to f. n; no. 59) that an inscription bearing no. 28, has been found out, in which Huviṣka is found calling himself "Emperor". If this is proved, it is to be understood that he was an independent ruler of Kāśmir in that year.

the kings of Mathurā is:—Kaniṣka I, Vazeṣka—Juṣka, Huviṣka (uncertain), and Kaniṣka II.

The dynastic list of the kings of Kāśmir<sup>59</sup> is as follows:—Kaniṣka I, Vazeṣka or Juṣka (uncertain), Huviṣka and Kaniṣka II.

Kaniṣka II seems to have adopted the name “Kaisar” as his inscriptions bear that name. Mr. Sten Konow, in his “Rock Inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī” (pp. 162) has quoted **His various names etc.** the following extract from the inscription at Ārā.<sup>60</sup>:—“Mahārājasya Rājātirājasya Devputrasya Kaisarasya Vazeṣka Putrasya Kaniṣka.” The extract shows that “Kaisar” was the name adopted by Kaniṣka, (the son of Vazeṣka) in his inscriptions.

We know that he was a minor at the time of his father's death. Hence he must have been born in about 18 to 25. He died in 93. Hence he lived for about 68 to 75 years. His reign lasted for about 64 years, including 11 years of his minority.

We know that he ascended the throne in 40. We might have to shift it a bit earlier when we come to the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ. For the present we accept it as all right. From that **Events during his reign** year onwards he called himself “Emperor.” Huviṣka did the same in Kāśmir, and there came about a change in the status of Chaṣṭhaṇ who was upto then a Kṣatrap. He became Mahākṣatrap in that year. It is stated in the “Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society” Vol. II, Part I, pp. 62:—“The statues of Kanishka and Chasthana being found together...” This extract shows that Kaniṣka considered Chṣṭhaṇ to be his compeer. He was appointed Mahākṣatrap and a larger territory than one under Ghṣamotik (his father) was put under

(59) Details given in previous pages will enable the readers to follow this.

(60) In the Mārgaśīrṣa number of “Sudhā” 1990, it is stated on pp. 5:—“The word Vazeṣka is here exactly in the same position, in which the word Kuśānputra is found in the inscription of Māt. It follows that both the names denote the relation of father. Thus Kuśān was the name of Vem's father”. (Mathurā kā Yagniya Stambha by Vāsudev Śaraṇ Agravāl). Cf. f. n. pp. 40, last chapter. This requires further research.

his power. Or he was granted full autonomy over his original territory. Thus, in Kanishka's time he himself was the independent ruler of Mathurā, Huviṣka of Kāśmir and Chṣṭhaṇ of Sind and Rājputānā. In short, the empire founded by Kanishka I, was much reduced during the time of Kanishka II. Whether this was done by Kanishka II, willingly or unwillingly, is a separate question. Of course after Huviṣka's death, the Kāśmirian territory came again under his power. Turning to the religious condition in those times we find in Buddhist books<sup>61</sup> the following words:—"Fourth council at Kundalvana near Shrinagar under the presidentship of Parshva." This means that he had given facilities for a Buddhist conference in his kingdom. That does not, however, necessarily mean, that either he or his descendants were Buddhists. King Ajātsatru has been mentioned in Buddhist books as granting facilities to Buddhists. He was a Jain. The Kuśāns held tolerant views on religion and hence granted facilities to Buddhists. The same writer seems to support this view<sup>62</sup> by saying in connection with the inscriptions of Kuśāns:—"But no figure and name of Buddha." In connection with this conference, Mr. Vincent Smith says (E. H. I. 3rd.ed, pp. 267):—"Buddhist council—Kanishka's council which is ignored by the Ceylonese chroniclers, who probably never heard of it, is only known from the traditions of northern India as preserved by the Tibetan, Mongolese and Chinese writers. The accounts of this assembly like those of the earlier councils, are discrepant and the details are obviously legendary." This means the accounts of the various Buddhist conferences, as we find them, are not very reliable. In short, the Kuśāns were followers of Jainism.

His was a peaceful reign. He was not ambitious like Kanishka I. On the contrary he seems to have ceded Kāśmir to his uncle, and Sind and Rājputānā to Chṣṭhaṇ, who later on became the independent ruler of Avantī. Like the Indo-Pārthian king Aziz II, who allowed the Gardabhils to establish themselves over Avantī, Kanishka made no effort to secure Avantī for himself. His was a

(61) H. H. pp. 656.

(62) Ibid, pp. 656.

long reign and he was a lover of peace. He devoted himself to art and religion. We find many idols and other relics in Kankalidā, which bear an eloquent testimony to this. It may be argued that the name of Kaniska in these relics refers to Kaniska I. Looking, however, to the modes of life led by them, we must conclude in favour of Kaniska II.

Both enjoyed a long term of life. The second ruled for the longest period in the whole dynasty. The first ascended the throne in his middle years, the second was a minor at the time of his father's death. The first was adventurous and ambitious, the second was peace-loving and contented. The first devoted most of his life to warfare, the second to art and religion. The first founded a vast empire, the second could hardly preserve it. The first started an era. In short, the reign of Kaniska I was full of adventures and brilliance. The second's reign was peaceful and uneventful.

#### Kaniska I & II a comparison

#### (5) VĀSUDEV I

Vāsudev I succeeded Kaniska II on the throne and ruled for 38 years from 196 to 234. It is said about him<sup>(63)</sup> "Inscriptions of Vasudev I at Mathura certainly range in date from 28 to 94." This means that his kingdom consisted of Mathura and the surrounding regions. He seems to have ascended the throne at a very early date. All his inscriptions are found in the region about Mathura. No memorable event seems to have taken place during his reign. Probably he was also of a peace-loving nature like his father.

His coins differ from those of his predecessors. This shows that he gave up the religion of his forefathers and became a follower of another. Mr. Vincent Smith<sup>(64)</sup> says: "Vasudev I whose thoroughly Indian name, a synonym of Vishnu, is a testimony to the same fact borne by his coins, almost all of which exhibit on the reverse, the figure of the Indian God Shiva, attended by his bull Nandi and accompanied by the noose, trident and other insignia of Hindu iconography." This shows clearly that he became a convert to

(63) E. H. I. 3rd ed. pp. 272.

(64) Ibid, pp. 272.

Brahminism. It is stated in the Jaina books that the main monks for four centuries beginning with the third century of the Vikrama era, preferred residence in the forest to residence among the people.<sup>65</sup> It may be inferred that this may probably be due to religious pressure from the regions of Nepāl and Bhūtān, where people at that time belonged to the Prajāpati sect. The Guptas, who brought about the end of the Kuśāna dynasty, came from this region. Hence we conclude, for the present, that in the 2nd century A. D. Brahminism pushed itself to the front, and the Kuśāns became converts to it. Thus Jainism disappeared from Mathurā.

In "Cambridge Short History of India"<sup>66</sup>, it is stated:—"To the Buddhist Kanishka was as great a figure as Asoka, but unfortunately, no early historian mentions him and his date is very much disputed". The same writer says<sup>67</sup> further, "It must be remembered, however, that while there is no doubt about the existence of the Buddhist council and the work it did, Kanishka's connection with it is not absolutely certain. Parmarth, for example, who is the earliest and perhaps the most reliable authority does not mention Kanishka". Clearly, Kanishka was not a follower of Buddhism. In the district of Peśāvar, a box has been excavated from a village named Śāhi-ki-Gheri. There is a picture on this box<sup>68</sup> in which Kanishka is represented as "standing between the sun and the moon". We know from our study of the coins that scholars call the same symbol "Star and Crescent", which is found on all the coins of Chasthāna kings. It has been proved in vol. II, that this is a Jaina sign. Details about it are given in the next chapter. All these pieces of evidence prove that all the predecessors of Vāsudev were Jains. He was the first convert to Brāhminism.

(65) The reason for this change is not known. We do not know in which country they travelled before this change. Possibly monks used to stay in Sopāra and other places of central India.

(66) Vide pp. 76 of that book.

(67) Ibid, pp. 78.

(68) Ibid, pp. 79.

Vāsudev died in 234 A. D. How many kings succeeded him? All we can say is that the Kuśāns remained in power for next 46 years upto 280 A. D. We cannot come to a definite conclusion<sup>69</sup>

**The remaining  
Kuśāna kings  
(6 to 13)**

about the time of the end of the Kuśāna dynasty, as long as no definite information is available about the time when the Guptas, who succeeded the Kuśāns, established their power in India. The

third Gupta king, named Chandragupta I or Vikramāditya, conquered Avanti from the Chaṣṭhaṇas, whom we have called the kings of the Śāhi dynasty (vol. III). He started the Gupta era in commemoration of this event<sup>70</sup>. If we accept that the first two Gupta kings ruled for about 40 years, we find that the Guptas must have supplanted the Kuśāns in about 279 A. D. In this connection Mr. Vincent Smith says<sup>71</sup>:—"The decay.....must have been hastened by the terrible plague of A. D. 167.....which desolated Roman and Pārthian empires for several years". This means that the Kuśāna dynasty ended in about 167 A. D. He has not forwarded any reasons for saying so. Probably, there being much confusion among scholars about foreigners who settled in India, he assigned the dates of one race to the other. We have proved that the Indo-Pārthian empire in India ended in 45 A. D. and the Indo-Scythian in about 52 A. D.

The slight resemblance between the coins of the Pārthians and the Kuśāns is due to the reason that the latter were the immediate successors of the former.

That Vāsudev has been called I, means that there was another king bearing the same name. Possibly there may have been Vāsudev III and IV. We close this chapter with a quotation from Mr. Vincent Smith:—"So much, however, is clear that Vāsudev I was the last Kushan king, who continued to hold extensive territories in India; after his death there is no indication of the existence of a paramount power in northern India".

(69) F. n. no. 70 below.

(70) The Gupta era was started in 319 A. D. because in that year began the rule of Chandragupta I.

(71) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 273.





## Chapter III

### The Kṣatrapas of the Chaṣṭhaṇa (Śāha) dynasty

**Synopsis:**—*The reason why the account of Chaṣṭhaṇs has been given side by side with that of the Kuśāns—The starting of their era—Evidence of coins and inscriptions about it:—*

(1) *A brief sketch of the life of Ghṣamotik.*

(2) *Chaṣṭhaṇ, his different titles—his life and the extent of his territory—His idol with that of Kaniska, details about this conjunction—A comparison between Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ—Details about the terms “Kṣatrap and Mahākṣatrap” with special reference to Chaṣṭhaṇ—The Chaṣṭhaṇa era and the Kuśāna era—His life etc.*

(3) *Did Jayadāman come to the throne ?*

(4) *Rudradāman—Eight difficulties with reference to the extent of his territory—Clarification of other issues about him—The religion of Chaṣṭhaṇs.*

*Political significance of rock-inscriptions—The inscriptions are an index to their religious fervour—The year in which the Chaṣṭhaṇa era was started, eight pieces of evidence about it—Clarification of hitherto unexplained issues—Chronological list.*

## THE CHAṢṬHAṆA DYNASTY

The Chaṣṭhaṇs are generally called the western Kṣatrapas. We have called this dynasty "Śāhi"<sup>1</sup> in vol. III, pp. 266. We do not propose to give an account of the whole dynasty, because that is outside the time-limit of this book. We have referred below only to those points which fall within the time-range fixed by us.

The account of Chaṣṭhaṇa Kṣatrapas is given side by side with that of the Kuśāns, because the former were the Kṣatrapas appointed by the latter. Naturally, many historical events refer to them both.

We have shown that the Kuśāna era was started in 103 A. D., and that the Chaṣṭhaṇa era was also begun in the

**Their era**

same year. Scholars hold the opinion that both the eras were started in 78 A. D. I have given

below a number of reasons why I believe that they were started in 103 A. D.<sup>2</sup>.

In the two chapters (Part VIII) devoted to eras we have proved that the Śaka era that prevailed in northern India had no connection with the one in southern India. We have given there full details about the one that prevailed in northern India. We take others here.

Scholars believe that the beginning of the Śaka era in north India was connected with any one of the following four things:— (1) Nahapāṇ (he has been mistakenly taken to have belonged to the Śaka race); (2) The beginning of the Chaṣṭhaṇa rule; (3) The beginning of the rule of the Kuśāna king, Kanīṣka; (4) The beginning of the rule of Moses or Aziz I or II. The main reason for believing so is that these dynasties were, at one time or the other, powerful in northern India. There being a bit of confusion about the races, it has been commonly believed that all of them

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(1) For a time I believed that this was the right name for the dynasty. Later researches, however, made me change my belief. Hence I have continued to call the dynasty by its old name Chaṣṭhaṇa.

(2) The date may be shifted a year or two earlier or later; but that will give rise to other difficulties.

were Śakas or related to Śakas<sup>3</sup>. Then the scholars fixed up A. D. as the year in which the era was begun.

Of the four conditions stated above, the first and the fourth do not suit with 78 A. D. (vol. III, pp. 164 to 169 and pp. 255—56). Condition no. 3 has already been discussed in the account of Kuṣāns. So we turn to the one remaining condition, no. 2.

That a number belongs to a particular era should always be proved on the evidence of coins and rock-inscriptions. An inquiry into the inscriptions and coins of the earlier Chaṣṭhaṇa rulers will be of much use to us. The first three Chaṣṭhaṇa rulers were Ghṣamotik, Chaṣṭhaṇ and Rudradāman. No coin or inscription of the first has as yet been found out. In the case of Chaṣṭhaṇ, we have many of his coins, but no inscription has yet been found out. These coins bear one of the two titles "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap". We find, however, no number on them<sup>4</sup>. One thing to be noted about his coins is that he has called himself "King" on them. Both coins and inscriptions are available in the case of Rudradāman. The inscription bears the number of his dynasty, 72, and his era, and his coins describe him as "Mahākṣatrap" and "King". We conclude that he was a Mahākṣatrap from the first, because neither the coins nor the inscriptions call him "Kṣatrap"<sup>5</sup>. The successor of Rudradāman has struck coins which tell us that he ruled from 72 to 100, thus proving that the reign of Rudradāman ended in 72. The earliest dates found about Rudradāman and Chaṣṭhaṇ

(3) Vol. III, pp. 95; pp. 96, f. n. no. 47; and pp. 281 and f. n. no. 47.

(4) I happen to have come across no. 46 once; but I have not evidence at my command to state it as authoritative.

(It is stated on pp. 122 of C. A. R. Introduction:—"All that is known as to the duration of Chaṣṭhaṇa's name...in the period limited by the years 46 and 72". It is stated on pp. 72 of the same book: "Period between 46 and 72". These, however, cannot be taken as authoritative, because the author has made these statements with the belief that Nahapān and Chaṣṭhaṇ both were Śakas and that the latter was successor of the former. (Vol. III, pp. 164 to 169).

(5) Details about the power of striking coins and erecting inscriptions are given in the succeeding chapter.

52 and 46 respectively. This means that Rudradāman must have come to the throne any time between 46 and 52. Or, during those six years some other king must have ruled. We have shown that a "Mahākṣatrapī" denotes more powers and larger territory than a "Kṣatrapī" (vol. III, pp. 116 & seq.) and that, if the father was "Mahākṣatrap", it was customary to call the heir-apparent "Kṣatrap" (vol. III, account of Nahapāṇ). The fact that the title "Kṣatrap" has not been connected with Rudradāman, indicates that he came to the throne directly, without ever being the heir-apparent. The coins of Jayadāman, the father of Rudradāman, bear the title "Kṣatrap"<sup>6</sup>. This shows that he was the heir-apparent, and that he died just before Chaṣṭhaṇ. Had he died much earlier than Chaṣṭhaṇ, Rudradāman must have been called "Kṣatrap" for some time to come. At least, no coin has been found out which described him as "Kṣatrap". In short, Chaṣṭhaṇ must have died in about 49, the year in which Rudradāman must have succeeded the throne. He ruled for 23 years, i. e. upto 72.

We have proved that the Śaka era did not start with Nahapāṇ or before him. Now, if we accept that Chaṣṭhaṇ was the starter of the era, we will have to agree that his rule lasted for 49 years, as that is the year in which he died. Kings<sup>7</sup> in his dynasty did not rule so long. The eighteenth in the line, Rudrasen III ruled for 30 years and the fourth king Dānyadśrī ruled for 28 years.

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(6) C. A. R. pp. 117, para 93:—"Jayadāman bears the title of Kshatrapa only". It is stated further, "On his coins Jayadaman uses the title Svami, Lord, in addition to Raja and Kshtrap". These statements are contradictory!

[N. B. The coins, which Mr. Rapson declares to have been struck by Jayadāman, do not seem to have been struck by him. It seems to have been a matter of conjecture with him. They bear the figure of the Bull, and are found from the region around Junāgaḍh, and not from Avantī or any other region. They also bear the signs of Sun and Moon, on the strength of which he has fixed them up as belonging to the Chaṣṭhaṇs. I do not agree with Mr. Rapson in this matter. Vide the account of Rudradāman to see whether he (Jayadāman) ever connected the title "King" with his name.]

(7) The term "King" denotes independence. These chiefs attained to "Kingship" after passing through the stages of "Kṣatrapī" and "Mahākṣatrapī".

The foreigners who invaded India may be divided into two parts for our convenience. One we shall call independent, and the other dependent. The first type of invaders were those who established independent kingdoms in foreign countries, before they came to India. Such invaders were Greeks, Bactrians<sup>36</sup>, Pārthians, Persians and Kuśāns. The other type were those who established an independent kingdom in foreign countries before their coming to India. Such were the Śakas, the Kṣaharāṭas and the Chasthan. The table given below will illustrate these points.

Details	Kṣatrapas, who were appointed by foreigners of the independent type		Kṣatrapas belonging to the dependent type	
	Kṣatrap	Mahākṣatrap	Kṣatrap	Mahākṣatrap
(1) Striking coins	Cannot (except by special permission of the king) <sup>37</sup>	Can strike coins <sup>38</sup> ; but the dating must be according to the era of the overlord	Can strike, but generally did not	Can strike
(2) Use of the era	Must use the era of the overlord		Must use the era of the Mahākṣatrap of his own dynasty	Must use his own era

(36) The Bactrians were originally under the power of the Greeks. However, they asserted their independence and they came to India as independent conquerers, and appointed Kṣatrapas.

(37) Coins of Hagām-Hagāmās may be included in this category. (II, coin nos. 5 & 10).

(38) Moses, the Indo-Pārthian king, may be considered in the category of a Kṣatrap, but he was not a Mahākṣatrap. Chasthan was a Mahākṣatrap.